# A JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS In the Detection of the CONSPIRACY

Formed by ſome White People, in conjunction with Negro and other Slaves, for burning the City of NEW-YORK in AMERICA and murdering the Inhabitants,

Which conſpiracy was partly put in execution, by burning his Majeſty's houſe in fort George, within the ſaid city, on Wedneſday the 18th of *March*, 1741, and ſetting fire to ſeveral dwelling and other houſes there, within a few days ſucceeding. And by another attempt made in proſecution of the ſame infernal ſcheme, by putting fire between two other dwelling-houſes within the ſaid city, on the 15th day of *February*, 1742: which was accidentally and timely diſcovered and extinguiſhed.

CONTAINING,

I. A narrative of the trials, condemnations, executions, and behaviour of the ſeveral criminals, at the gallows and ſtake, with their ſpeeches and confeſſions; with notes, obſervations and reflections occaſionally interſperſed throughout the whole.

II. An appendix, wherein is ſet forth ſome additional evidence concerning the ſaid conſpiracy and conſpirators, which has come to light ſince their trials and executions.

III. Liſts of the ſeveral perſons (whites and blacks) committed on account of the conſpiracy; and of the ſeveral criminals executed; and of thoſe tranſported, with the places whereto.

By the Recorder of the City of NEW-YORK.

*Quid facient Domini, audent cum talia* Fures? Virg. Ecl.

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CONTAINING,

I A narrative of the trials, condemnation, execution, and behaviour of the several criminals, at the gallows and stake, with their confessions and confessions occasionally interspersed along the whole.

II An appendix, containing the facts committed during the time of carrying the said conspiracy and rebellion into execution, and of those apprehended, with the evidence thereof.

III Hints of the several plots in Europe and America, of which the conspiracy is evidently a branch, and of those concerned, with the evidence thereof.

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# PREFACE.

mediate neceſſity for others to have lent a helping hand in taking examinations from the beginning, if the judges had not found it expedient to examine the perſons accuſed, upon their firſt taking into cuſtody, whereby it ſeemed moſt likely the truth would bolt out, before they had time to cool, or opportunity of diſcourſing in the jail with their confederates who were before committed.

The examinations thus taken by the judges, were ſoon after laid before the grand jury, who interrogated the parties thereſrom in ſuch manner, as generally produced from them the ſubſtance of the ſame matter, and often ſomething more, by which means there accrued no ſmall advantage; for though where the laſt examination brought to light new diſcovery, yet it will be ſeldom found, there is any thing in ſuch further examinations contradictory to the former, but generally a confirmation of them; and in ſuch caſe, the ſetting forth the ſame at large, may not be thought a uſeleſs tautology; not that this will happen often, and where it does, it will be chiefly found in the examinations and confeſſions of negroes, who, in ordinary caſes, are ſeldom found to hold twice in the ſame ſtory; which for its rarity therefore, if it carried not with it the additional weight of the greater appearance of truth, may make this particular the more excuſable; and further, this is a diary of the proceedings, that is to be exhibited; therefore, in conformity to that plan, nothing ſhould be omitted, which may be of any uſe.

All proper precautions were taken by the judges, that the criminals ſhould be kept ſeparate; and they were ſo as much as the ſcanty room in the jail would admit of; and new apartments were accordingly fitted up for their reception: but more particular care was taken, that ſuch negroes as had made confeſſion and diſcovery, and were to be made uſe of as witneſſes, ſhould be kept a-part from the reſt, and as much from each other, as the accommodations would allow of, in order to prevent their caballing together; and the witneſſes were always examined a-part from each other firſt, as well upon the trials, as otherwiſe, and then generally confronted with the perſons they accuſed, who were uſually ſent for and taken into cuſtody upon ſuch examinations, if they were to be met with; which was the means of bringing many others to a confeſſion, as well ſuch as were newly taken up, as thoſe who had long before been committed, perhaps upon ſlighter grounds, and had inſiſted upon their innocence; for they had generally the cunning not to own their guilt, till they knew their accuſers: but notwithſtanding this was the ordinary method taken, both by the judges and grand jury, to ſend for the parties as ſoon as impeached, (which however might ſometimes through hurry be omitted) yet ſeveral who happened then to be out of the way, were afterwards forgot, and ſlipt through our fingers, from the multiplicity of buſineſs in hand, as will hereafter appear; which therefore is particularly recommended to the notice of their owners.

The trouble of examining criminals in general, may be eaſily gueſſed

guished or; but the ſtage in that of negroes, is not to be conceived, but by thoſe that have undergone the drudgery, and dexterouſly of bringing, and reducing them to the truth. If by chance it ſtarts from them, is not to be remembered but by the help of tradition; many of them have a great deal of craft; their unintelligible jargon ſtands them in great ſtead to conceal their meaning, ſo that an examiner muſt expect to encounter with much perplexity; grope through a maze of obſcurity; be obliged to lay holds of broken hints, lay them carefully together, and thoroughly weigh and compare them with each other, before he can be able to ſee the light, or fix thoſe creatures to any certain determinate meaning.

Though for the reaſons before mentioned, all the trials could not be ſet forth at large; yet on the principal trials, ſuch as that *Hughſons*, *Ury* the prieſt, *Quack* and *Caſſee*, (the two firſt negroes executed for the conſpiracy) and that of the five *Spaniſh* ſlaves, the court and gentlemen at the bar took notes more largely; but as to the reſt, though there were here and there ſome minutes taken, (which are alſo ſet forth in their proper places) yet they did not think them equally worth the pains; therefore upon other trials, the paragraphs or ſections of the depoſitions of whites, and the examinations and confeſſions of ſlaves, taken by the judges, grand jury, or others, upon the credit whereof ſuch ſlaves were indicted, are referred to upon their reſpective trials: which method, if any ſhould object to, as ſubject to uncertainty, and ſay, the witneſſes might not declare exactly the ſame things, and in the ſame words, or the ſubſtance of them, before the court, as are contained in thoſe depoſitions, examinations and confeſſions referred to; the anſwer is,

Firſt, it is moſt likely they did not, (nor could it be expected they ſhould) deliver themſelves preciſely in the ſame words: but abſtracts were taken of thoſe evidences, and briefs prepared for the council concerned in each trial, pointing out the ſeveral articles affecting each criminal; whereby the council were readily led to aſk a witneſs ſuch queſtions as would naturally draw out the ſubſtance of the ſame matter in anſwer, if it were the truth; and it was obſerved by thoſe more immediately concerned in theſe affairs, and whoſe province it was to give cloſe attention to them, that the witneſſes both whites and blacks, generally kept cloſe to the text, and delivered in court the ſubſtance of the evidence they had before given in their depoſitions, examinations, and confeſſions.

Secondly, that what the witneſſes did actually declare in court upon the trials, was ſufficient to convince twelve honeſt men upon their oaths, that the accuſed were guilty; and there is no other way left to furniſh the reader with the grounds which gave ſuch conviction to the juries.

For the further enlightening the maſters and owners of ſlaves accuſed, convicted upon their own confeſſions, and tranſported, and of others who were diſcharged from confinement, (for want of

ſufficient evidence, as it was ſaid, before the ſecond grand jury, who were charged to continue the enquiry concerning this infernal ſcheme) the evidence affecting each, is referred to under every ſuch negro's confeſſion, excepting as to ſuch of them as were made uſe of as witneſſes, which was thought needleſs; for their teſtimony having gained ſufficient credit, it can ſcarce be ſuppoſed there will be any doubt of their own guilt; but if there ſhould be any who heſitate concerning it, all that can be ſaid, is, it will behoove ſuch to give the cloſer attention to the ſeveral depoſitions, examinations, and confeſſions, which impeach them.

The evidence likewiſe affecting each white perſon apprehended upon the account of this conſpiracy, that was afterwards diſcharged for want of proſecution, is referred to under their reſpective names, that it may appear what reaſon there was for their commitment and accuſation, tho' they were diſcharged for want of indictment.

It has been thought proper to add, at the end of this journal, liſts of all the whites and blacks actuſed of this conſpiracy, thoſe who were executed, and thoſe who were pardoned upon condition of tranſportation, or otherwiſe diſcharged from jail, ſhewing the reſpective times of their commitment, arraignment, conviction, execution or diſcharge; whereby the reader will be enabled to turn to almoſt any part of the journal to ſatisfy his curioſity, as to what moſt materially concerns each reſpective conſpirator; and with a view alſo to ſhew to what places ſuch of them as were tranſported (according to information received) were ſhipped; which is premiſed, as a modeſt hint to our brethren in the Weſt-Indies, and the more neighbouring engliſh colonies, that they may ſee how tender we have been of their peace and ſecurity, by uſing all the precaution in our power, that none of our rogues ſhould be impoſed upon them; for it was made an expreſs condition in the ſeveral pardons, and likewiſe the recognizances entred into by the ſecurities for ſlaves tranſported, 'that the perſons pardoned ſhould be 'tranſported to the dominion of ſome foreign prince or ſtate, or 'the iſland of Newfoundland [by a time therein limited] and if 'any of the negroes or ſlaves [pardoned by the letters patent] 'ſhould at any time after [the day therein limited] be found in 'any of his Majeſty's dominions, except Newfoundland, the let-'ters patent as to all and every the perſon and perſons ſo found, 'ſhould be null, void, and of no force or effect.' Which terms have been ſtrictly purſued and complied with, ſome few inſtances only excepted.

Many, it ſeems, have wondred, that this journal has not made its appearance long ago; for, ſay they, the thing dies away, and is almoſt forgotten (the more's the pity) and now people will hardly take the pains to give it a peruſal.

To which it is anſwered, that it was ſome time before the compiler could ſubmit himſelf to undergo a drudgery of this kind, for ſeveral reaſons; the taſk was not very inviting, and he had borne

a ſufficient

a ſufficient fatigue, under an ill ſtate of health, in the hurry, not in the proceedings themſelves, for a courſe of ſix months daily attendance, and it was ſome time before he could abſolutely determine to undertake it, and did ſet about it by ſtarts; and ſays that, the duties of his offices and profeſſion have occaſioned many interruptions; and when the attention is withdrawn for a time from a ſubject, it may not always ſuit the humour to re-aſſume it, eſpecially a matter of this nature, nor perhaps can the thoughts concerning it be eaſily collected again; nor does this buſineſs required much intention, but recollection and care were neceſſary to introduce every matter properly, and give it connexion in its due order of time, towards which the compiler had the advantage of being all along privy to the proceedings, and all the motions concerning them.

There were reaſons indeed, for making theſe matters publick, which could not be withſtood.

There had been ſome wanton, wrong-headed perſons amongſt us, who took the liberty to arraign the juſtice of the proceedings, and ſet up their private opinions in ſuperiority to the court and grand jury; tho' God knows (and all men of ſenſe know) they could not be judges of ſuch matters; but nevertheleſs, they declared with no ſmall aſſurance (notwithſtanding what we ſaw with our eyes, and heard with our ears, and every one might have judged of by his intellects, that had any) that there was no plot at all! the inference ſuch would have drawn from thence, is too obvious to need mentioning: however this moved very little: it was not to convince (for that would have been a vain undertaking; the Æthiopian might as ſoon change his ſkin) much leſs was it to gratify ſuch.

But there were two motives which weighed much; the one, that thoſe who had not the opportunity of ſeeing and hearing, might judge of the juſtice of the proceedings from the ſtate of the caſe being laid before them; the other, that from thence the people in general, might be perſuaded of the neceſſity there is, for every one that has negroes, to keep a very watchful eye over them, and not to indulge them with too great liberties, which we find they make uſe of to the worſt purpoſes, caballing and confederating together in miſchief, in great numbers, when they may, from the accounts in the enſuing ſheets, from what they ſee has happened, feel the conſequence of giving them ſo great a latitude, as has been cuſtomary within this city and province, and thereby be warned to keep themſelves upon a ſtrict guard againſt theſe enemies of their own houſhold, ſince we know what they are capable of; for it was notorious, that thoſe among them, who had the kindeſt maſters, who fared beſt, and had the moſt liberty; nay, that thoſe in whom their maſters placed the greateſt confidence, inſomuch, that they would even have put their own ſwords into their hands, in expectation of being defended by them againſt their own colour, did nevertheleſs turn out the greateſt villains: it even appeared,

that

that these head fellows boasted of their superiority over the rest, as harmless and inoffensive; that they held them in an indolent lay and dependance, a kind of subjection, as if they had got such dominion over them, that they durst not, at any time, or upon any occasion, but do as they would have them; from whence it may be guessed, how likely the defection was to be general.

The principal inducement, therefore, to this undertaking was, the publick benefit; that those who have property in several kinds, have a lasting memento concerning the nature of them, that they may be thence warned to keep a constant guard over them; since what they have done, they may one time or other all over again, especially if there should in future times appear such monsters in nature, as the *Hogsflesh, Ury* the priest, and such like, who dare be so wicked as to attempt the seducing them to such execrable purposes: and if any should think it not worth their while to learn from the ensuing sheets (what by others perhaps may be esteemed) a useful lesson, the fault will be their own; and really it was thought necessary, for these and other reasons needless here to mention, that there should be a standing memorial of so unprecedented a scheme of villainy.

But though the compiler was willing to make an offering of his own time, to the publick service, by laying these matters in order, for the press; yet being under no other influence so to do, than his inclination and readiness to oblige the publick, he was at liberty however to suit his own convenience; and therefore, considering the multiplicity of the proceedings, it may, after all, rather be thought matter of wonder, that it makes its appearance so soon.

Perhaps it may not come forth unseasonably at this juncture, if the distractions occasioned by this mystery of iniquity, may be thereby so revived in our memories, as to awaken us from that supine security, which again too generally prevails, and put us upon our guard, lest the enemy should be yet within our doors.

City of *New-York*,
12 April, 1744.

INTRO-

# INTRODUCTION.

AS a robbery committed at Mr. *Hogg's* paved the way to the diſcovery of the conſpiracy, it may not be improper to introduce the enſuing JOURNAL and NARRATIVE with an account of that felony, as well as the many fires which alarmed this city, cloſe upon the heels of each other, within leſs than three weeks, occaſioned by this infernal ſcheme, 'till they both came under the enquiry and examination of the *Grand Jury*, at the ſupreme court: and indeed there is ſuch a cloſe connexion between this felony, and the conſpiracy, as will appear by the ſeveral ſteps and examinations taken by occaſion of the former, that the narrative of the robbery could not well be omitted: for the enquiry concerning that, was the means of drawing out the firſt hint concerning the other; nay, this felony and ſuch like, were actually ingredients of the conſpiracy, as will appear by the ſequel.

On ſaturday night the 28th *February*, 1740-1, a robbery was committed at the houſe of Mr. ROBERT HOGG, in the city of *New-York*, merchant, from whence were taken diverſe pieces of linen and other goods, and ſeveral ſilver coins, chiefly Spaniſh, and medals, and wrought ſilver, *&c.* to the value in the whole of *ſixty pounds* and upwards.

The occaſion of this robbery, as was diſcovered, and will appear more fully hereafter, was one *Wilſon*, a lad of about ſeventeen or eighteen years of age, belonging to the *Flamborough* man of war, on this ſtation; who having acquaintance with two white ſervants belonging to gentlemen who lodged at Mr. *Hogg's* houſe, *Wilſon* uſed frequently to come thither on that pretence, which gained him eaſy admittance: but *Wilſon*, it ſeems, had a more familiar acquaintance with ſome negroes of very ſuſpicious characters, particularly *Cæſar*, belonging to *John Vaarck*, baker; *Prince*, to Mr. *John Auboyneau*, merchant, and *Cuffe*, to *Adolph Philipſe*, Eſq;

"The thurſday before this robbery was committed, "*Wilſon* came to Mr. *Hogg's* ſhop with one of the man-"of-war's people, to buy ſome checquſed linen; and hav-"ing bargained for ſome, part of the money offered in pay-

" ment was of Spaniſh coin ; and Mrs. *Hogg* opening her " bureau to change the money, pulled out a drawer in the " view of *Wilſon*, wherein were a conſiderable quantity of " milled Spaniſh pieces of eight: ſhe ſoon reflected that ſhe " had done wrong in expoſing her money to an idle boy " in that manner, who came ſo frequently to her houſe, " and immediately ſhut up the bureau again, and made a " pretence of ſending the money out to a neighbour's to be " weighed."

Mrs. *Hogg*'s apprehenſions happened to be right; for this boy having ſight of the money, was charmed with it, and, as it ſeems, wanted to be fingering of it; he told his comrades of the black-guard, the before named *Cæſar*, *Prince* and *Cuffee*, where they might have a fine booty, if they could manage cleverly to come at it; he ſaid, it was at *Hogg*'s houſe in the Broad-ſtreet; his wife kept a ſhop of goods, and ſold candles, rum and molaſſes, *&c.*

The negroes catched at the propoſal, and the ſcheme was communicated by them to *John Hughſon*, who kept a publick houſe by the north river in this city, a place where numbers of negroes uſed to reſort, and be entertained privately (in defiance of the laws) at all hours, as appeared afterwards, and will be ſhewn at large in the enſuing ſheets: Thither they uſed to bring ſuch goods as they ſtole from their maſters or others, and *Hughſon*, his wife and family, received them: there they held a conſultation with *Hughſon* and his family, how they ſhould act in order to compaſs the attainment of this booty.

The boy (*Wilſon*) told them the ſituation of the houſe and ſhop; that the front was towards Broad-ſtreet; that there was a ſide door out of the ſhop into a little lane commonly called the Jews-alley, and if they could contrive an errand thither to buy rum, they might take an opportunity to ſhove back the bolt of the door facing the alley, for there was no lock to it, and then they could come in the night afterwards, and accompliſh their deſigns (*a*).

At *Hughſon*'s lodged one *Margaret Sarubiero*, alias *Darlingburgh*, alias *Kerry*, commonly called *Peggy*, or the *Newfoundland Iriſh beauty*, a young woman about one or two and twenty; ſhe pretended to be married, but no huſband appeared; ſhe was a perſon of infamous character, a notorious proſtitute, and alſo of the worſt ſort, a proſtitute

(a) At nights they uſually let people in at the front door in the other ſtreet, and went through the parlour to the ſhop, which *Wilſon* well knew.

to

to support; she was first lodged and supported by *Cæsar* (*Hughson's*) public acknowledgment, and could shew (in common with *Hughson's* family) of the spoils and plunder, the effects of *Cæsar's* thefts, which he brought to *Hughson's*; and she may be supposed to have been in most of their wicked secrets; for she had lodged above the furnace before, and removed from thence to *Hughson's* by the same flattery, next door to *John Romme's*, a shoemaker, and was well acquainted with him and his wife: thither also *Cæsar* used frequently to resort, with many other negroes; thither he also conveyed stolen goods, and some part of *Hogg's* goods, of which *John Romme* had his choice, if what *Cæsar* said, after his condemnation, be true; and by whom will appear hereafter against *Romme*, and from his intimacy with *Hughson*, his morals may be concluded to fall little short of his companions.

With this *Peggy*, as she will be hereafter ordinarily called, *Cæsar* used frequently to sleep at *Hughson's*, with the knowledge and permission of the family; and *Cæsar* bargained with and paid *Hughson* for her board: she came there to lodge a second time in the fall, not long before *Christmas*, 1740, big with child by *Cæsar*, as was supposed, and was brought to bed there, not many days before the robbery at *Hogg's*, of a babe largely partaking of a motley complexion.

Here is laid the foundation of the characters of *Hughson* and his family, *Peggy* and *John Romme*; which will afford frequent occasion of enlarging upon: and from such an hopeful earnest, the reader may well expect a plentiful harvest.

*Wilson* coming to *Mrs. Hogg's* on sunday morning, to visit his acquaintance as usual; she complained to him, that she had been robbed the night before, that she had lost several goods out of the shop, a great deal of silver Spanish money, medals and other silver things, little suspecting that he had been the occasion of it, *notwithstanding what he apprehended upon pulling out the drawer of money before him, as above*; but as she knew he belonged to the man-of-war, and that several of those sailors frequented idle houses in the Jews-alley; it happened that her suspicions inclined towards them; she imagined *he* might be able to give her some intelligence about it, and therefore described to him some things that she had missed, *viz.* snuff-boxes, silver medals, one a remarkable eight square piece, *&c.* Whereupon *Wilson* said, he had been that morning at *Hughson's* house, and there saw one

*John Gwin*, who pulled out of his pocket a worſted capfull of pieces of coined ſilver; and that Mr. *Philipſe's Caſſar*, who was there, ſeeing *John Gwin* have this money, he aſked him to give him ſome; and *John Gwin* counted him out half a crown in pennies, and aſked him if he would have any more; and then pulled out an handful of ſilver coin, amongſt which, *Wilſon* ſaid, he ſaw the eight ſquare pieces deſcribed by Mrs. *Hogg*.

*SUNDAY*, 1ſt MARCH.

This morning ſearch was made for *John Gwin* at *Hughſon's*, ſuppoſing him to have been a ſoldier of that name, a fellow of ſuſpicious character, as Mrs. *Hogg* conceived; and the officers making enquiry accordingly for a ſoldier, they were anſwered, *There was no ſuch ſoldier that uſed that houſe*; but it fell out, that *Cæſar, the real perſon wanted*, was at the ſame time before their faces in the chimney corner: the officers returned without ſuſpecting him to be the perſon meant; but the miſtake being diſcovered by the boy (*Wilſon*,) that the negro *Cæſar* before mentioned went by that name, he was apprehended in the afternoon; and being brought before *Wilſon*, he declared, that he was the perſon he meant by *John Gwin*.

*Cæſar* was committed to priſon.

*MONDAY*, 2d MARCH.

*Cæſar* (*Vaarck's* negro) was examined by the juſtices, and denied every thing laid to his charge concerning *Hogg's* robbery; but was remanded.

*Prince* (Mr. *Auboyneau's* negro) was this day alſo apprehended upon account of the ſame felony: upon examination he denied knowing any thing of it. He was alſo committed.

Upon information that *Cæſar* had ſhewn a great deal of ſilver at *Hughſon's*, it was much ſuſpected that *Hughſon* knew ſomething of the matter; and therefore ſearch was made ſeveral times at his houſe yeſterday and this day, but none of the goods or ſilver were diſcovered.

*Hughſon* and his wife were ſent for, and were preſent while the negroes were examined by the juſtices, and were alſo examined themſelves touching the things ſtolen, but diſcovered nothing; and they were diſmiſſed.

TUESDAY, 3d MARCH.

*Hughſon*'s houſe having been ſearched ſeveral times over by Mr. *Mills* the under-ſheriff, and ſeveral conſtables, in queſt of *Hogg*'s goods, without effect; it happened this evening, that *Mary Burton* * came to the houſe of *James Kannady*, one of the ſearching conſtables, to fetch a pound of candles for her maſter, *Kannady*'s wife knew the girl by ſight, and who ſhe belonged to, living in the neighbourhood near them, and having heard of the robbery, and the ſeveral ſearches at *Hughſon*'s, ſhe took upon her to examine *Mary*, "whether ſhe knew any thing of thoſe "goods? and admoniſhed her to diſcover if ſhe did, leſt "ſhe herſelf ſhould be brought into trouble; and gave her "motherly good advice, and ſaid if ſhe knew any thing "of it, and would tell, ſhe would get her freed from her "maſter." Whereupon, at parting, the girl ſaid, "*She "could not tell her then, ſhe would tell her tomorrow; but "that her huſband was not* CUTE *enough, for that he had "trod upon them*," and ſo went away. This alarmed *Kannady* and his wife; and the ſame evening *Ann Kannady* went to Mr. *Mills* the under-ſheriff, and told him what had paſſed between her and *Mary Burton*. "Whereupon "*Mills* and his wife, Mr. *Hogg* and his wife, and ſeveral "conſtables, went with *Ann Kannady* and her huſband, "down to *Hughſon*'s houſe; and *Ann Kannady* deſired the "under-ſheriff to go in firſt, and bring *Mary Burton* out "to her; but he ſtaying a long time, *Ann Kannady* went "into *Hughſon*'s houſe, and found the under-ſheriff and "his wife and *Mary Burton* in the parlour, and ſhe then "denied what ſhe had before ſaid to *Ann Kannady*, as "above; then *Ann Kannady* charged her home with it; "till at length *Mary Burton* ſaid, *ſhe could not tell them "any thing there, ſhe was afraid of her life, that they would "kill her*. Whereupon they took the girl out of the houſe, "and when they had got a little way from thence, ſhe "put her hand in her pocket, and pulled out a piece of "ſilver money, which ſhe ſaid was part of *Hogg*'s money, "which the negroe had given her. They all went to alder-"man *Baneker*'s with her, and *Ann Kannady* informing "the alderman, that ſhe had promiſed *Mary Burton* to "get her freed from her maſter; he directed that ſhe "ſhould lodge that night with the under-ſheriff at the city

* Indented ſervant to *John Hughſon*, came to him about midſummer, 1740.

" hall for ſafety; and ſhe was left there accordingly." For *Mary Burton* declared alſo before the alderman her apprehenſions and fears, that ſhe ſhould be murdered or poiſoned by the *Hughſons* and the negroes, for what ſhe ſhould diſcover.

The alderman ſent for *John Hughſon*, and examined him cloſely, whether he knew any thing of the matter? but he denied that he did, at firſt, 'till the alderman preſſed him very home, and admoniſhed him (if it was in his power) to diſcover thoſe who had committed this piece of villainy; *little ſuſpecting him to have been principally concerned*; he was at laſt prevailed with to acknowledge he knew where ſome of the things were hid; and he went home and fetched and delivered them.

## *WEDNESDAY, 4th* MARCH.

This day the mayor having ſummoned the juſtices to meet at the city-hall, ſeveral aldermen met him accordingly; and ſent for *Mary Burton*, and *John Hughſon* and his wife: and *Mary Burton*, after examination, made the following depoſition before them.

## *DEPOSITION.*

" *Mary Burton*, of the city of *New-York*, ſpinſter, aged " about ſixteen years, being ſworn depoſed,

1. " That about two o'clock on ſunday morning laſt, " a negro man who goes by the name of *John Gwin*, (or " *Quin*) came to the houſe of *John Hughſon*, the Depo- " nent's maſter, and went in at the window, where one " *Peggy* lodges, where he lay all night.

2. " That in the morning ſhe ſaw ſome ſpeckled linen " in the ſaid *Peggy*'s room; that the ſaid negro then gave " the deponent two pieces of ſilver, and bid *Peggy* cut off " an apron of the linen, and give to the deponent, which " ſhe did accordingly.

3. " That at the ſame time the ſaid negro bought a " pair of white ſtockings from her maſter, for which he " was to give ſix ſhillings; that the ſaid negro had two " mugs of punch, for which, and the ſtockings, he gave " her maſter a lump of ſilver.

4. " That her maſter and miſtreſs ſaw the linen the " ſame morning.

5. " That ſoon after Mr. *Mills* came to enquire for one " *John Quin*, a ſoldier, who, he ſaid, had robbed Mr. " *Hogg* of ſome ſpeckled linen, ſilver, and other things.

6. " That

6. "That after Mr. *Mills* was gone, her mistress hid "the linen in the garret; and soon after some officers "came and searched the house; and when they were gone "and found nothing, her mistress took the linen from the "place she had before hid it in, and hid it under the stairs.

7. "That the night before last, her master and mistress "gave the said linen to her mistress's mother, * who "carried it away.

8. "That yesterday morning one *John Rowne* was at "her master's house, and she heard him say to her master, "*If you will be true to me, I will be true to you*; and her "master answered, *I will, and will never betray you*†.

9. "That the said negro usually slept with the said Peg- "gy, which her master and mistress knew of."

Upon this occasion, it seems, *Hughson* and his wife finding that *Mary Burton* was inclinable to discover them in their villainy, resolving this robbery, thought proper to say something to blacken her character, in order to take off from the credit of her testimony, and declared, that she was a vile, good-for-nothing girl, or words to that purpose; that she had been got with child by her former master, &c. The truth whereof, however, was never made out; but at length *Hughson* finding that he was near going to goal, and as fearing the consequence of provoking her, changed his note, and said she was a very good girl, and had been a trusty servant to them; that in the hard weather the last winter she used to dress herself in man's cloaths, put on boots, and went with him in his sleigh in the deep snows into the commons, to help him fetch firewood for his family, &c.

The deputy town clerk, when *Mary Burton* was under examination, as he was taking her deposition, exhorted her to speak the truth, and all she knew of the matter; she answered him, *That she hardly dared to speak, she was so much afraid she should be murdered by them*; or words to that purpose: whereupon the clerk moved the justices, that she might be taken care of, not knowing that she had been removed from her master's the night before, by order of a magistrate.

After *Mary Burton*, *John Hughson* and his wife, and *Peggy* were examined, *Peggy* denied every thing, and spoke in

* *Elizabeth Luckstead.*

† *Romme* had received part of *Hogg*'s goods from *Cæsar*, *alias John Gwin* or *Quin* as before.

in favour of *Hughſon* and his wife: *Peggy* was committed; and *John Hughſon* confeſſed as followeth.

## *EXAMINATION.*

*John Hughſon* ſaid, "That on monday evening laſt, "after Mr. *Mills* had been to ſearch his houſe for goods "which had been ſtolen from Mr. *Hogg*; one *Peggy*, who "lodged at his houſe, told him, that *John Quin* had left "ſome checqued linen and other things with her; that "ſhe delivered to the examinant the ſame checqued linen, "which he delivered to his mother-in-law *Elizabeth Luck-"ſtead*, with directions to hide them: that ſoon after the "ſaid *Peggy* delivered him ſundry ſilver things in a little bag; "which he carried into the cellar, and put behind a bar-"rel, and put a broad ſtone upon them, where they re-"mained till laſt night about ten or eleven o'clock, when "he delivered them to alderman *Johnſon* and alderman "*Bancker*.

2. "That while the ſaid ſilver things lay concealed in "his cellar, the conſtables came and ſearched his houſe "for the ſaid ſtolen goods, but did not find them.

3. "That this morning the ſaid *Peggy* gave him a little "bundle with ſeveral ſilver pieces in it; which he ſoon "afterwards brought into court, and delivered it to the "juſtices then preſent."

*Hughſon* abſolutely refuſed to ſign the examination after it was read over to him; and thereupon the deputy town clerk aſked him if it was not true as he had penned it; he anſwered, *Yes, it was, but he thought there was no occaſion for him to ſign it.* He was admitted to bail, and his wife *Sarah* likewiſe; and recognizances were entered into with two ſureties each, for their appearance in the ſupreme court on the firſt day of the next term.

*Cæſar* and *Prince* were likewiſe again examined, but would confeſs nothing concerning the robbery: *Cæſar* was remanded, and *Prince* admitted to bail upon his maſter's entering into recognizance in ten pounds penalty, for his appearance at the next ſupreme court.

But *Cæſar* acknowledged, that what *Mary Burton* had depoſed concerning him and *Peggy*, as to his ſleeping with her, was true.

## DEPOSITION.

*John Vaarck*, of the city of *New-York*, baker, being duly ſworn and examined, ſaith,

1. "That about two o'clock this afternoon, his negro-"boy told him, there were ſome things hid under the floor "of his kitchin; that thereupon he went to look, and "found the linen and plates, now ſhewn him, which he "took out, and carried to the mayor.

2. "That his ſaid kitchin adjoins to the yard of *John* "*Romme*, is a framed building, and the ſaid linen and "plates could eaſily be put there from the ſaid *Romme's* "yard, but could not be put there from his houſe, with-"out taking up a board of the floor."

Theſe were ſuppoſed to be part of the goods ſtolen from Mr. *Hogg*, and carried to *Romme's*, by *Ceſar* alias *John Gwin*.

Upon *Vaarck's* depoſition, orders were given for the apprehending *John Romme*, but he abſconded.

## *WEDNESDAY*, 18th MARCH.

About one o'clock this day a fire broke out of the roof of his Majeſty's houſe at *Fort George*, within this city, near the chapel: when the alarm of a fire was firſt given, it was obſerved from the town, that the middle of the roof was in a great ſmoke, but not a ſpark of fire appeared on the outſide for a conſiderable time; and when it firſt broke out, it was on the eaſt ſide, about twenty feet from the end next the chapel, and in a ſhort time afterwards, it made it's way through the roof in ſeveral places, at a diſtance from the firſt, and each other. Upon the chapel bell's ringing, great numbers of people, gentlemen and others, came to the aſſiſtance of the lieutenant governor and his family; and as the people of this city, to do them juſtice, are very active and diligent upon theſe occaſions, moſt of the houſhold goods, *&c.* were removed out and ſaved, and the fire engines were in a little time brought thither; but the wind blowing a violent gale at S. E. as ſoon as the fire appeared in different places of the roof, it was judged impoſſible to ſave the houſe and chapel; ſo that endeavours were uſed to ſave the ſecretary's office over the fort gate, where the records of the colony were repoſited; and alſo the barracks

which

which ſtood on the ſide of the quadrangle oppoſite to the houſe: ſuch diligence was uſed in removing the records, books and papers from the former, many of which for diſpatch were thrown out of the windows next the town, that moſt of them were preſerved; and though, from the violence of the wind, the papers were blown about the ſtreets, we don't hear that any very material writings were loſt; but the fire had got hold of the roof of the office ſoon after they began to remove the records, and though the engines played ſome time upon it and afterwards upon the barracks, they were of little ſervice, the wind blowing very hard, and the flames of the houſe being ſo near them, all ſeemed to be at their mercy; and an alarm being given that there was gun-powder in the fort, whether through fear and an apprehenſion that there was, or whether the hint was given by ſome of the conſpirators themſelves, with artful deſign to intimidate the people, and frighten them from giving further aſſiſtance, we cannot ſay; though the lieutenant governor declared to every body, that there was none there; yet they had not the courage to depend upon his honour's aſſurance: but however, it happened, moſt of them deſerted it, 'till they found that many gentlemen remained upon the ſpot; though, had they all ſtayed, it was thought it would have been to little purpoſe; for ſuch was the violence of the wind, and the flames ſpread ſo faſt, that, in about an hour and a quarter's time, the houſe was burnt down to the ground, and the chapel and other buildings beyond human power of ſaving any material part of them: at length the fire got to the ſtables without the fort, and the wind blew fired ſhingles upon the houſes in the town next the north river, ſo that there was the utmoſt danger of it's ſpreading further; which occaſioned many families to remove their goods; but at laſt it was ſtopped at the governor's ſtables, with very little damage to the houſes in the town.

While the records were removing from the ſecretary's office, there fell a moderate ſhower of rain, which was of ſome ſmall ſervice; and when the buildings were down to the ground floor, ſome hand granado ſhells, which had lain ſo long as to be forgotten, took fire, and went off, which few or none but the officers of the fort could account for, or imagine what was the matter; nor would it have been worth while to have attempted their removal, if they had been thought of; for the buildings in the fort were at that time

time all given over for loſt; but this ſerved to confirm the generality of the people in the notion, that there was powder in the fort, and if they could have done any good, this would probably have prevented them.

But though the floors of the ſeveral buildings ſoon tumbled in, there were many pieces of timber which were laid in the walls of the houſe, chapel, ſteeple, and other buildings, which continued burning almoſt all the night after; ſo that we could not think the town quite out of danger of further miſchief, 'till thoſe timbers were entirely conſumed; for 'twas apprehended, as the fort ſtood upon an eminence, that the wind according as it ſhould have happened to change, might have blown ſome of the fire upon the houſes in the town, which, for the moſt part, have ſhingled roofs; therefore care was taken to keep a watchful guard all the night to prevent farther damage.

*Mr. Cornelius Van Horne*, a captain of one of the companies of the militia, very providentially beat to arms in the evening, and drew out his men with all expedition; had ſeventy odd of them under arms all night, and parties of them continually going the rounds of the city, 'till daylight: this incident, from what will appear hereafter, may be thought to have been a very fortunate one, and deſerving of a more particular remark, though at that time *ſome people were ſo infatuated, as to reproach that gentleman for it, as a madman.*

The only way of accounting for this misfortune at this time was, the lieutenant governor had ordered a plumber that morning to mend a leak in the gutter between the houſe and the chapel, which joined upon one another, and the man carrying his fire-pot with coals to keep his ſoddering iron hot, to perform his work; and the wind ſetting into the gutter, it was thought, ſome ſparks had been blown out upon the ſhingles of the houſe; but ſome people having obſerved, that upon the firſt alarm, as before, near half the roof, as they gueſſed, was covered with ſmoke, and that no ſpark of fire appeared without, nor could any be ſeen, but within; it was by them concluded, that the reaſon aſſigned was not likely to be the right one, eſpecially when it was conſidered, that at length, the fire broke out in ſeveral places of the roof, diſtant from each other; but no one imagined it was done on purpoſe.

## *FRIDAY*, 20*th* MARCH.

*Prince*, the negro of Mr. *Auberneau*, who was bailed out of prison, as beforementioned, was recommitted by the mayor, and alderman *Bancker*.

## *WEDNESDAY*, 25*th* MARCH.

A week after the fire at the fort, another broke out between eleven and twelve o'clock, at the house belonging to captain *Warren*, near the *Long-bridge*, at the S. W. end of the town; the roof was in flames, supposed at that time to have been occasioned by the accidental firing of a chimney; *but when the matter came afterwards to be canvassed, it was not altogether clear of grounds of suspicion, that it was done designedly*; but the fire engines were soon brought thither, and they played so successfully, though the fire had got to a considerable head on an old shingled roof, that by their aid, and the assistance and activity of the people, it was soon extinguished without doing much damage to the house.

## *WEDNESDAY*, 1*st* APRIL.

Another week from the last, a fire broke out at the storehouse of Mr. *Van Zant*, towards the east end of the town. It was an old wooden building, stored with deal boards, and hay at one end of it; the fire was said to be occasioned by a man's smoaking a pipe there, which set fire to the hay: but it is said, the fire was first discovered in the N. E. side of the roof, before it had taken the hay: this house was near the river, and by the side of a slip out of it, convenient for handing water to the engines; it was thought morally impossible to hinder it's spreading further, there being many wooden buildings adjoining; but the people exerted their usual diligence, handed out the boards into the slip, all in flames, played the engines, and handed and threw the buckets of water, with such extraordinary activity, it stopped the progress of the fire so successfully, that it ended with little more damage than the entire consumption of the warehouse and most of the goods in it.

*SATURDAY, 4th* APRIL.

This evening there was an alarm of a fire at the houſe of one *Quick*, or *Vergereau* (for they both lived under one roof) in the fly: Upon enquiry, the fire was found to be in a cow-ſtable near the houſes; the hay was on fire in the middle of it; but by timely aſſiſtance, it was ſuppreſſed.

As the people were returning from *Quick*'s fire, that was ſucceeded with a ſecond cry of *fire*, at the houſe of one *Ben Thomas*, next door to Captain *Early*, on the weſt ſide; this was in the duſk of the evening. It began in the loft of the kitchin, was diſcovered by the ſmoke before the fire had got any head, and was ſoon extinguiſhed: Upon examination, it was found, that fire had been put between a ſtraw and another bed laid together, whereupon a negro ſlept, but who did it, or how the fire happened at *Quick*'s, remained to be accounted for.

*SUNDAY, 5th* APRIL.

A diſcovery was made in the morning early, that ſome coals had been put under a hay-ſtack, ſtanding near the coach-houſe, and ſtables of *Joſeph Murray*, Eſq; in the broad way, and near ſome dwelling houſes there, which had it taken fire, would have been in great danger; but the coals went out of themſelves, as ſuppoſed, having only ſinged ſome part of the hay. It was ſaid, there were coals and aſhes traced along from the fence to a neighbouring houſe next adjoining the ſtables, which cauſed a ſuſpicion of the negro that lived there.

The *five* ſeveral Fires, *viz.* at the fort, Capt. *Warren*'s houſe, *Van Zant*'s ſtorehouſe, *Quick*'s ſtable, and *Ben Thomas*'s kitchin, having happened in ſo ſhort a time, ſucceeding each other; and the attempt made of a ſixth on Mr. *Murray*'s hay-ſtack; it was natural for people of any reflection, to conclude that the fire was ſet on purpoſe, by a combination of villains; and therefore occaſioned great uneaſineſs to every one that had thought: but upon this ſuppoſition, no body imagined there could be any further deſign, than for ſome wicked wretches to have the opportunity of making prey of their neighbours goods, under pretence of aſſiſtance in removing them for ſecurity, from the danger of the flames; for upon theſe late inſtances,

many

many of the ſufferers had complained of great loſſes of their goods and furniture, which had been removed from their houſes upon theſe occaſions.

This ſunday as three negroes were walking up the Broad-way towards the *English* church, about ſeven time, Mrs. *Earle* looking out of her window, overheard one of them ſaying to his companions, with a vapouring tone of an air, "*Fire, fire, ſwear, ſwear,* A LITTLE, — *damn it,* BY-AND-BY," and then threw up his hands, and laughed: the woman conceived great jealouſy at theſe words, and thought it very odd behaviour at that juncture, conſidering what had ſo lately happened; and ſhe putting the natural conſtruction upon them, her apprehenſions made her uneaſy, and ſhe immediately ſpoke of it to her next neighbour Mrs. *George*, but ſaid, *ſhe did not know any of the negroes.*

About an hour after, when church was out, Mrs. *Earle* ſaw the ſame negroes coming down the Broad-way again, and pointed out to Mrs. *George* the perſon who had ſpoke the words; and Mrs. *George* knew him, and ſaid, *That is Mr.* WALTER'S *Quaco.*

Theſe words and the airs and graces given them by *Quaco* when he uttered them, were made known to a neighbouring alderman, who informed the reſt of the juſtices thereof at their meeting the next day.

## *MONDAY*, 6*th* APRIL.

About ten o' clock in the morning, there was an alarm of a fire at the houſe of ſerjeant *Burns*, oppoſite the fort garden: this, it was ſaid, was only a chimney; which, upon enquiry, the man declared, had been ſwept the *friday* before; but from the great ſmother in the houſe, and ſome other circumſtances, there were grounds to ſuſpect a villainous deſign in it.

Towards noon, a fire broke out in the roof of Mrs. *Hilton*'s houſe, at the corner of the buildings next the fly-market, adjoining on the eaſt ſide of capt. *Sarly*'s houſe: It firſt broke out on that ſide next *Sarly*'s; but being timely diſcovered, was ſoon prevented doing much miſchief, more than burning part of the ſhingles of the roof. Upon view, it was plain, that the fire muſt have been purpoſely laid on the wall-plate adjoining to the ſhingle roof; for a hole had been burnt deep in it, next that part of the roof where the fire had taken hold of the ſhingles; and it was

ſuſpected,

ſuſpected, that the fire had been wrapt in a bundle of tow, for ſome was found near the place: that the fact was plain, but who did it, was a queſtion remained to be determined: but there was a cry among the people, *The Spaniſh Negroes; The Spaniſh Negroes; Take up the Spaniſh Negroes.* The occaſion of this was the two fires (*Skinner's* and *Hilton's*) happening ſo cloſely together, only one day intervening, on each ſide of capt. *Sarly's* houſe; and it being known, that *Sarly* had purchaſed a Spaniſh negro, ſome time before brought into this port, among ſeveral others, in a prize taken by capt. *Lyde*; all which negroes were condemned as ſlaves in the court of admiralty, and ſold accordingly at *Vendue*; and that they afterwards pretending to have been free-men in their own country, began to grumble at their hard uſage of being ſold as ſlaves: this probably gave riſe to the ſuſpicion, that this negro, out of revenge, had been the inſtrument of theſe two fires; and he behaving himſelf inſolently upon ſome people's aſking him queſtions concerning them, which ſignified their diſtruſt; it was told to a magiſtrate who was near, and he ordered him to goal, and alſo gave direction to the conſtables to commit all the reſt of that cargo, in order for their ſafe cuſtody and examination.

In the afternoon the magiſtrates met at the city-hall, with intent to examine them; and while the juſtices were proceeding to examination, about four o' clock there was another alarm of fire: upon enquiry, and looking out at the hall windows, it was ſeen from thence, and found to be at Col. *Philipſe's* ſtorehouſe. Upon the view of it, there was a ſmall ſtreak of fire running up the ſhingles, like wild fire, from near the bottom to the top of the roof, on the ſide directly *againſt the wind as it then blew*: It not being far from the engines, they were inſtantly brought to the place; and the fire, to one's great ſurprize, almoſt as ſoon extinguiſhed. This was the middlemoſt of three large ſtorehouſes next each other in a row, old timber-buildings, and the ſhingles burned like tinder. Theſe ſtorehouſes were not inhabited, nor had they a chimney in them, but were at a great diſtance from any. The fire, upon examination, muſt have begun within ſide; for between the ſide of thoſe ſtorehouſes, and the houſes neareſt them, oppoſite to the wind, there was a large ſpace of garden ground; ſo that no ſparks from theſe chimneys could have occaſioned this miſchief, had the wind blown the contrary way; but to diſcover by whom the fire was put, was the difficulty.

While the people were extinguiſhing the fire at this ſtore-houſe, and had almoſt maſtered it, there was another *Cry of Fire*; which diverted the people attending the ſtorehouſe to the new alarm, very few remaining behind: but a man who had been on the top of the houſe, aſſiſting in extinguiſhing the fire, ſaw a negro leap out of the end window of one of them, from thence making over ſeveral gardens fences in great haſte; which occaſioned him to cry out, *A negro, a negro*; and that was ſoon improved into an alarm, *That the negroes were riſing*: the negro made very good ſpeed home to his maſter's; he was generally known; and the ſwiftneſs of his flight occaſioned his being remark'd; though ſcarce any knew the reaſon, but a few which remained at the ſtorehouſe, why the word was given, *A negro, a negro*: it was immediately changed into *Cuff Philipſe, Cuff Philipſe*: the people ran to Mr. *Philipſe*'s houſe in queſt of him; he was got in at the back-door; and being found, was dragged out of the houſe, and carried to goal, borne upon the people's ſhoulders. He was a fellow of general ill character; his maſter being a ſingle man and little at home, *Cuff* had a great deal of idle time, which, it ſeems, he employed to very ill purpoſes, and had acquired a general bad fame.

Many people had ſuch terrible apprehenſions upon this occaſion, and indeed there was cauſe ſufficient, that ſeveral negroes (and many had been aſſiſting at the fire at the ſtore-houſe, and many perhaps that only ſeemed to be ſo) who were met in the ſtreets, after the alarm of their riſing, were hurried away to goal; and when they were there, they were continued ſome time in confinement before the magiſtrates could ſpare time to examine into their ſeveral caſes, how and for what they came there, many others firſt coming under conſideration before them againſt whom there ſeemed to be more direct cauſe of ſuſpicion; but in a few days, thoſe againſt whom nothing in particular was alledged, were diſcharged.

It was ſaid there was like to have been another fire this day, though it has by ſome been ſuppoſed to have been an accident: the cellar of a baker near *Coenjes* market was all of a ſmother, and the chips in a blaze; but was ſoon ſuppreſſed. This alſo occaſioned ſome alarm.

*Quack* (*Walter*'s) was ſent for and committed; he remained in confinement ſome days without examination, from the hurry the magiſtrates were in; but at length Mrs. *Earle*

*Earle* and Mrs. *George* being sent for by the justices, they declared concerning him to the effect above mentioned: (e) And *Quack* being brought before them, and examined, by his excuse admitted he had spoken the words he was charged with; but it being soon after we had the news of admiral *Vernon's* taking *Porto Bello*, he had contrived a cunning excuse, or some abler heads for him, to account for the occasion of them, and brought two of his own complexion to give their words for it also, *That they were talking of admiral* VERNON's *taking* Porto Bello; *and that he thereupon signified to his companions, that he thought that was but a small feat to what this brave officer would do by-and-by, to annoy the Spaniards*; or words tantamount; so that it happened *Quack* was enlarged from his confinement for some time.

Others considering that it was but eighteen days after the fort was laid in ashes, that these words were uttered; and that several other fires had intervened, as before related; and but the next day after *Quick's* stable and *Ben Thomas's* house were on fire; and the attempt upon *Mr. Murray's* hay-stack discovered that very morning; they were apt to put a different construction upon *Quack's* words and behaviour; that he thereby meant, "That the fires which we "had seen already, were nothing to what we should have "*by-and-by*, for that then we should have all the city in "flames, and he would rejoice at it;" for it was said, he lifted up his hands, and spread them with a circular sweep over his head, after he had pronounced the words [*by-and-by*] *and then concluded with a loud laugh.* Whether these figures are thus more properly applied, the reader will hereafter be better able to judge; but the construction of them at that time confirmed many in the notion of a conspiracy; though they could not suspect one of so black a dye, as there were afterwards flagrant proofs of, and will appear by and by.

His honour the lieutenant governor was pleased to order a military watch to be kept this evening, and the same was continued all the summer after.

## *WEDNESDAY, 8th APRIL.*

*John Hughson* and *Sarah* his wife were committed to goal by the mayor and three aldermen, being charged as accessaries to divers felonies and misdemeanours.

(e) Sunday, 5th April.

SATURDAY, 12th April.

At a common-council held this day at the city of *New-York*.

PRESENT,

JOHN CRUGER, Esq; MAYOR.

The RECORDER,

*Gerardus Stuyvesant*,
*William Romme*
*Simon Johnson*,
*John Moore*,
*Christopher Banker*,
*John Pintard*,
*John Marshall*,
} Esqs; Aldermen.

*Henry Begert*,
*Isaac Stoutenberg*,
*Philip Mintborne*,
*George Brinkerhoff*,
*Robert Benson*,
*Samuel Lawrence*,
} Assistants.

THE RECORDER taking notice of the several fires which had lately happened in this city, and the manner of them, which had put the inhabitants into the utmost consternation; that every one that reflected on the circumstances attending them, the frequency of them, and the causes being yet undiscovered; must necessarily conclude, that they were occasioned and set on foot by some villainous confederacy of latent enemies amongst us; but with what intent or purpose time must discover; that it could not be doubted, but the lieutenant governor and his majesty's council had taken the alarm at this time of danger, and were watchful, and anxious for the safety of the city; and though they were of opinion, that it was highly proper and necessary that a proclamation should be issued by the government, promising proper rewards to such person and persons as should make such discovery of the incendiaries, their confederates and accomplices, as that they should be convicted thereof; *Yet it was well known that the governor and council had not the liberty of drawing upon the colony treasurer for any sum of money whatsoever, upon any emergency:*

*quiry:* and it could not be unfriendly expected the governor should subject himself to pay such rewards out of his own pocket, for the use and satisfaction of the publick; that as the safety of the city, so immediately concerned, seemed absolutely to require such a measure to be taken; so the publick, who were also interested in the preservation of it, would reap the benefit in common with them, by the corporation's laudable resolution, should they determine to engage to pay proper rewards, and request the governor to issue a proclamation agreeable thereto; which, he was persuaded, the governor was well inclined to do, and the gentlemen of the council to advise thereto; *he therefore moved,*

'That the board should come to a resolution to pay such 'rewards as should by them be thought a proper and sufficient temptation to induce any party or parties concerned to make such discovery."

*Upon consideration whereof, it was ordered,* 'That this 'board request his honour the lieutenant-governor to issue 'a proclamation, offering a reward to any white person 'that should discover any person or persons lately concerned in setting fire to any dwelling house or storehouse 'in this city (so that such person or persons be convicted 'thereof,) the *sum of one hundred pounds,* current money 'of this province; and that such person shall be pardoned, 'if concerned therein: and any slave that should make 'discovery, to be manumitted, or made free; and the 'master of such slave to receive *twenty five pounds* there'fore; and the slave to receive, besides his freedom, the 'sum of *twenty pounds,* and to be pardoned; and if a 'free negro, mulatto, or indian, to receive *forty five* 'pounds, and also to be pardoned, if concerned therein: 'And that this board will issue their warrant to the cham'berlain, or treasurer of this corporation for the payment 'of such sum as any person by vertue of such proclamation 'shall be intitled unto. And that the mayor and record'er wait on his honour the lieutenant-governor, and ac'quaint him with the resolution of this board."

The mayor and recorder waited on his honour accordingly, and a copy of the order was also delivered to him.

Many persons in the neighbourhood of the several fires beforementioned, thought it necessary to remove their houshold goods for safety; and in their consternation, as was natural, suffered any body who offered their assistance, to take

them away; by which means some villains had the cruelty to make prey of them, for there were great complaints of losses upon those occasions; which the magistrates took this day into their consideration: and it being suspected that there were some strangers lurking about the city, who had been the wicked instruments and occasion of these fires, but upon the supposition only, that by those means they might have opportunities of pilfering and plundering, a scheme was proposed, that there should be a general search of all houses throughout the town, whereby it was thought probable discoveries might be made, not only of stolen goods, but likewise of lodgers, that were strangers, and suspicious persons: the proposal was approved of, and each alderman and his common council-man, with constables attending them, undertook to search his respective ward on the south side of the fresh water pond; and the monday following was the day fixed upon for making the experiment.

This scheme was communicated to the governor, and his honour thought fit to order the militia out that day in aid of the magistrates, who were to be dispersed through the city, and centries of them posted at the ends of the streets to guard all avenues, with orders to stop all suspected persons that should be observed carrying bags or bundles, or removing goods from house to house, in order for their examination; and all this was to be kept very secret till the project was putting in execution.

*MONDAY*, 13*th* APRIL.

Pursuant to the scheme concerted on saturday last, the *general search* was made; but there were not any goods discovered which were said to have been lost, nor was there any strange lodger or suspicious persons detected: but some things were found in the custody of *Robin*, Mr. *Chambers*'s negro, and *Cuba* his wife, which the alderman thought improper for, and unbecoming the condition of slaves, which made him suspect they were not come honestly by; and therefore ordered the constable to take them in possession, to be reserved for further enquiry: and these two negroes were committed.

*FRIDAY*, 17*th* APRIL.

The lieutenant governor, by and with the advice of his Majesty's council, issued a proclamation, therein reciting

the beforementioned order and reſolution of the common council, promiſing the rewards agreeable thereto.

In the mean while, between the ſixth and the ſeventeenth inſtant, a great deal of time had been ſpent by the magiſtrates in the examination of the negroes in cuſtody, upon account of theſe fires, but nothing could be got out of them.

*Cuffee* (Phillips's) was cloſely interrogated, but he abſolutely denied knowing any thing of the matter; he ſaid he had been at home all that afternoon, from the time he returned from *Milton*'s fire, where he had been to aſſiſt and carry buckets; that he was at home when the bell rung for the fire at col. *Philipſe*'s ſtorehouſe. It appeared, upon enquiry and examination of witneſſes, that he, according to his maſter's orders, had been ſawing wood that afternoon with a white boy; and that when his maſter came home from dinner, he took him off from that work, and ſet him to ſew on a vane upon a board for his ſloop; the white boy teſtified, 'that he ſtood by him to ſee him ſew it, and 'that he left him but a little before the bell rung for the 'fire;' and when the alarm of the fire was, and that it was ſuppoſed to be at his maſter's ſtorehouſe, it was ſaid, *Cuffee* was aſked whether he would go out with the buckets, and that he ſhould anſwer, *he had enough of being out in the morning*. Some of the neighbours alſo declared that they had ſeen him looking over his maſter's door but a little before the bell rung: but an old man who had known *Cuffee* for ſeveral years, depoſed, that he had ſeen him at the fire at the ſtorehouſe, and that he ſtood next him: there ſeemed to be ſome objection againſt the man's evidence: it was thought he might be miſtaken, being very near ſighted; upon examination, it was found he could diſtinguiſh colours, and he deſcribed the clothes he had on, and moreover declared, he ſpoke to him, and aſked him, why he did not hand the buckets; and that thereupon he anſwered him, and did hand water, and that he knew his voice.

There was very ſtrong proof that he was the negro that leaped out of the window of one of the ſtorehouſes as the fire was extinguiſhed, and moſt of the people drawn away upon the new alarm of a fire; that he was ſeen to leap over ſeveral garden fences, and to run home in great haſte.

Upon the whole it was thought proper *Cuffee* ſhould remain in confinement, to await further diſcovery.

# JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS againſt the Conſpirators at NEW-YORK, 1741.

At a ſupreme court of judicature held for the province of NEW-YORK, at the city hall of the city of *New-York*, on

*TUESDAY*, 21ſt APRIL, 1741.

PRESENT,

FREDERICK PHILIPSE, Eſq; *ſecond juſtice.*
DANIEL HORSMANDEN Eſq; *third juſtice.*

The *Grand-Jury* called.

The following perſons appeared, and were ſworn, *viz.*

Mr. ROBERT WATTS, Merchant, Foreman.

Meſſrs. *Jeremiah Latouche*,
*Joſeph Read*,
*Anthony Rutgers*,
*John M'Evers*,
*John Cruger*, jun.
*John Merritt*,
*Adoniah Schyler*,
*Iſaac De Peyſter*,
*Abraham Kateltaſs*,
*David Provoeſt*,
*Rene Hett*,
*Henry Beekman*, jun.
*David Van Horne*,
*George Spencer*,
*Thomas Duncan*,
*Winant Vad Zant*.
} Merchants.

Mr. Juſtice PHILIPSE gave the charge to the *grand jury* as followeth,

*Gentlemen of the grand jury*,

'IT is not without ſome concern, that I am obliged at 'this time to be more particular in your charge than 'for many preceding terms there hath been occaſion.

'The

'The many frights and terrors which the good people of this city have of late been put into by repeated and unuſual fires, and burning of houſes, give us too much room to ſuſpect, that ſome of them at leaſt did not proceed from meer chance or common accidents; but on the contrary, from the premeditated malice and wicked purpoſes of evil and deſigning perſons; and therefore it greatly behoves us to uſe our utmoſt diligence by all lawful ways and means to diſcover the contrivers and perpetrators of ſuch daring and deſperate undertakings: that, upon conviction, they may receive condign puniſhment. For although we have the happineſs of living under a government which exceeds all others in the excellency of it's conſtitution and laws, yet if thoſe to whom the execution of them (which *my lord* Coke calls the life and ſoul of the law) is committed, do not exert themſelves in a conſcientious diſcharge of their reſpective duties; ſuch laws which were intended for a terror to the evil-doer, and a protection to the good, will become a dead letter, and our moſt excellent conſtitution turned into anarchy and confuſion; every one practiſing what he liſteth, and doing what ſhall ſeem good in his own eyes: to prevent which, it is the duty of all grand juries to enquire into the conduct and behaviour of the people in their reſpective counties; and if, upon examination, they find any to have tranſgreſſed the laws of the land, to preſent them, that ſo they may by the court be put upon their trial, and then either to be diſcharged or puniſhed according to their demerits.

'I am told there are ſeveral priſoners now in goal, who have been committed by the city magiſtrates, upon ſuſpicion of having been concerned in ſome of the late fires; and others, who under pretence of aſſiſting the unhappy ſufferers, by ſaving their goods from the flames, for ſtealing, or receiving them: this indeed is adding affliction to the afflicted, and is a very great aggravation of ſuch crime, and therefore deſerves a narrow enquiry; that ſo the exemplary puniſhment of the guilty (if any ſuch ſhould be ſo found) may deter others from committing the like villainies; for this kind of ſtealing, I think, has not been often practiſed among us.

'*Gentlemen*,

'Arson, or the malicious and voluntary burning, not only a manſion houſe, but alſo any other houſe, and

to the out-buildings, or barns, and stables adjoining thereto, by night or by day, is felony at common law; and if any part of the house be burnt, the offender is guilty of felony, notwithstanding the fire afterwards be put out, or go out of itself.

'This crime is of so shocking a nature, that if we have any in this city, who, having been guilty thereof, should escape, who can say he is safe, or tell where it will end?

'*Gentlemen*,

'Another thing which I cannot omit recommending to your serious and diligent enquiry, is to find out and present all such persons who sell rum, and other strong liquor to negroes: it must be obvious to every one, that there are too many of them in this city; who under pretence of selling what they call a peny dram to a negro, will sell to him as many quarts or gallons of rum, as he can steal money or goods to pay for.

'How this notion of it's being lawful to sell a peny dram, or a penyworth of rum to a slave, without the consent or direction of his master, has prevailed, I know not; but this I am sure of, that there is not only no such law; but that the doing of it is directly contrary to an act of assembly now in force, *for the better regulating of slaves*. The many fatal consequences flowing from this prevailing and wicked practice are so notorious, and so nearly concern us all, that one would almost be surprised, to think there should be a necessity for a court to recommend the suppressing of such pernicious houses: thus much in particular; now in general.

'*My charge, gentlemen*, further is, to present all conspiracies, combinations, and other offences, from treasons down to trespasses; and in your enquiries, the oath you, and each of you have just now taken, will, I am perswaded, be your guide, and I pray God to direct and assist you in the discharge of your duty.'

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

Supreme Court.

*WEDNESDAY*, 22*d* APRIL.

PRESENT.

*The second Justice.*

The court opened and adjourned till ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

The

THE grand jury having been informed, that Mary Burton could give ſome account concerning the goods ſtolen from Mr. *Hogg*, ſent for her that morning, and *ordered ſhe ſhould be ſworn*; the conſtable returned and acquainted them, that *ſhe ſaid ſhe would not be ſworn, nor give evidence*: whereupon they ordered the conſtable to get a warrant from a magiſtrate to bring her before them. The conſtable was ſome time gone, but at length returned, and brought her with him; and being aſked *why ſhe would not be ſworn, and give her evidence?* ſhe told the grand jury *ſhe would not be ſworn*; and ſeemed to be under ſome great uneaſineſs, or terrible apprehenſions, which gave ſuſpicion that ſhe knew ſomething concerning the fires that had lately happened: and being aſked a queſtion to that purpoſe, *ſhe gave no anſwer*; which increaſed the jealouſy that ſhe was privy to them: and as it was thought a matter of the utmoſt concern, the grand jury was very importunate, and uſed many arguments with her, in publick and private to perſuade her to ſpeak the truth, and tell all ſhe knew about it. To this end, the lieutenant-governor's proclamation was read to her, promiſing indemnity, and the reward of *one hundred pounds* to any perſon, confederate or not, who ſhould make diſcovery, &c. *She ſeemed to deſpiſe it*, nor could the grand jury by any means, either threats or promiſes, prevail upon her, though they aſſured her withal, that ſhe ſhould have the protection of the magiſtrates, and her perſon be ſafe and ſecure from harm; but hitherto all was in vain: therefore the grand jury deſired alderman *Banker* to commit her; and the conſtable was charged with her accordingly; but before he had got her to the goal, ſhe conſidered better of it, and reſolved to be ſworn, and give her evidence in the afternoon.

Accordingly, ſhe *being ſworn*, came before the grand jury: but as they were proceeding to her examination, and *before they aſked her any queſtions*, ſhe told them ſhe would acquaint them with what ſhe knew relating to the goods ſtolen from Mr. *Hogg*'s, *but would ſay nothing about the fires*.

This expreſſion thus, as it were providentially, ſlipping from the evidence, much alarmed the grand jury; for, as they naturally concluded, it did by conſtruction amount to an affirmative, that ſhe could give an account of the occaſion of the ſeveral fires; and therefore, as it highly became thoſe gentlemen in the diſcharge of their truſt, they determined to uſe their utmoſt diligence to ſift out the diſcovery.

But

But ſtill ſhe remained inflexible; till at length, having recourſe to religious topicks, repreſenting to her the heinouſneſs of the crime which ſhe would be guilty of, if ſhe was privy to, and could diſcover, ſo wicked a deſign as the firing houſes about our ears; whereby not only people's eſtates would be deſtroyed, but many perſons might loſe their lives in the flames: This ſhe would have to anſwer for at the day of judgment, as much as any perſon immediately concerned; becauſe ſhe might have prevented this deſtruction, and would not; ſo that a moſt dreadful ſin would lie at her door; and what need ſhe fear from her divulging it; ſhe was ſure of the protection of the magiſtrates? Or the grand jury expreſſed themſelves in words to that ſame purpoſe; which arguments at laſt prevailed, and ſhe gave the following evidence: which, however, notwithſtanding what had been ſaid, came from her, as if ſtill under ſome terrible apprehenſions or reſtraints.

## *DEPOSITION.*

### NUMB. I.

*Mary Burton*, being ſworn, depoſeth, 1. 'That *Prince* (*) and *Cæſar* (†) brought the things of which they had 'robbed Mr. *Hogg*, to her maſter, *John Hughſon*'s houſe, 'and that they were handed in through the window, *Hughſon*, his *Wife*, and *Peggy* receiving them, about two or 'three o' clock on a ſunday morning (‡).

2. 'That *Cæſar*, *Prince*, and Mr. *Philipſe*'s negro 'man (*Cuffee*) uſed to meet frequently at her maſter's houſe, 'and that ſhe has heard them (the negroes) talk frequently 'of burning the fort; and that they would go down to 'the Fly (§) and burn the whole town; and that her 'Maſter and Miſtreſs ſaid, they would aid and aſſiſt them 'as much as they could.

3. 'That in their common converſation they uſed to 'ſay, that when all this was done, *Cæſar* ſhould be governor, and *Hughſon* her maſter ſhould be king.

4. 'That *Cuffee* uſed to ſay, that a great many people 'had too much, and others too little; that his old maſter 'had a great deal of money, but that, in a ſhort time, 'he ſhould have leſs, and that he (*Cuffee*) ſhould have 'more.

(*) Mr. *Auboyneau*'s Negro. (†) *Vowell*'s Negro.
‡ *March* 1740, 1. (§) The Eaſt End of the city.

5. 'That

5. 'That at the same time when the things of which Mr. *Hogg* was robbed, were brought to her master's house, they brought some indigo and bees wax, which was likewise received by her master and mistress.

6. 'That at the meetings of the three aforesaid negroes, *Cæsar*, *Prince*, and *Cuffee*, at her master's house, they used to say, in their conversations, *That when they set fire to the town, they would do it in the night, and at the white people came to extinguish it, they would kill and destroy them.*

7. 'That she has known at times, seven or eight guns in her master's house, and some swords, and that she has seen twenty or thirty negroes at one time in her master's house; and that at such large meetings, the three aforesaid negroes, *Cuffee*, *Prince*, and *Cæsar*, were generally present and most active, and that they used to say, 'That the other negroes durst not refuse to do what they commanded them, and they were sure that they had a number sufficient to stand by them.

8. 'That *Hughson* (her master) and *her mistress* used to threaten, that if she the deponent ever made mention of the goods stolen from Mr. *Hogg*, *they would* Poison *her*; and the negroes swore, if ever she published, or discovered their design of burning the town, *they would burn her whenever they met her.*

9. 'That *she never saw any white person in company when they talked of burning the town, but her master, her mistress, and Peggy.*'

This Evidence of a conspiracy, not only to burn the city, but also destroy and murder the people, was most astonishing to the grand jury, and *that any white people should become so abandoned as to confederate with slaves in such an execrable and detestable purpose*, could not but be very amazing to every one that heard it; what could scarce be credited; but that the several fires had been occasioned by some combination of villains, was, at the time of them, naturally to be collected from the manner and circumstances attending them.

The grand jury therefore, as it was a matter of the utmost consequence, thought it necessary to inform the judges concerning it, in order that the most effectual measures might be concerted, for discovering the confederates; and the judges were acquainted with it accordingly.

Su-

Supreme Court.

THURSDAY, 23d APRIL.

PRESENT,

*The Second and Third Justices.*

The grand jury came into court and were called over. The foreman desiring that *Margaret Scrubitro*, alias *Kerry*, a prisoner, might be brought before them:

*Ordered*, That the sheriff do carry the said *Margaret Scrubitro*, alias *Kerry*, before the grand jury, and see her safe returned again.

The court adjourn'd till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

This morning the judges summoned all the gentlemen of the law in town, to meet them in the afternoon, in order to consult with them, and determine upon such measures as on the result of their deliberations should be judged most proper to be taken upon this emergency; and Mr. *Murray*, Mr. *Alexander*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Chambers*, Mr. *Nicholls*, Mr. *Lodge*, and Mr. *Jamison*, met them accordingly; the *Attorney General* being indisposed, could not attend.

It was considered, that though there was an act of the province for trying negroes, as in other colonies, for all manner of offences, by the justices, &c. in a summary way; yet as this was a scheme of villainy in which white people were confederated with them, and most probably were the first movers and seducers of the slaves; from the nature of such a conjunction, there was reason to apprehend there was a conspiracy of deeper design and more dangerous contrivance than the slaves themselves were capable of; it was thought a matter that required *great secrecy*, as well as the *utmost diligence*, in the conduct of the enquiry concerning it: And upon the whole, it was judged most adviseable, as there was an absolute necessity that a matter of this nature and consequence should be fathomed as soon as possible, that it should be taken under the care of the supreme court; and for that purpose, that application should be made to his honour the lieutenant-governor, for an ordinance, to enlarge the term for the sitting of that court, which in the ordinary method would determine on the *tuesday* following.

The gentlemen of the law generously and unanimously offered to give their assistance on every trial in their turns, as this was conceived to be a matter that not only affected the city, but the whole province.

*Mar-*

Margaret Kerry, commonly called *Pigg*, for stealing *Hogg*'s robbing [illegible] of the [illegible] there in prison in the evening; they exhorted her to make an ingenuous confession and discovery of what she knew of it, and gave her hopes of their recommending her case for a pardon, if they could be of opinion that she deserved it; assuring her (as the case was) that they had his honour's permission to give hopes of mercy to such criminals as should confess their guilt, and they should think proper to recommend to him as fit, and proper objects. But she withstood it, and positively denied that she knew any thing of the matter; and said, *That if she should accuse any body of any such thing, she must accuse innocent persons, and* WRONG HER OWN SOUL. She had this day been examined by the grand jury, and positively denied knowing any thing about the fires.

## Supreme Court.

*FRIDAY, 24th APRIL.*

PRESENT,

*The Second and Third Justices.*

The KING,

*against*

Cæsar *and* Prince, *Negroes.*

The Grand Jury having found two bills of indictment for *felonies*, against the prisoners; *Mr. Attorney General* moved, that they might be brought to the bar, in order to be arraigned.

*It was ordered.*

And they being brought, were arraigned accordingly, and severally pleaded, *Not Guilty.*

The KING,

*against*

John Hughson,
Sarah *his Wife*,
Margaret Sorubiero, *alias* Kerry.

The Grand Jury having found a bill of indictment for *felony*, against the defendants in custody; *Mr. Attorney General* moved, that they might be brought to the bar in order to be arraigned.

*It was ordered.*

And the prisoners being brought, were arraigned accordingly, and severally pleaded, *Not Guilty.* *Ordered*

*Ordered*, That the trials of the two negroes, the [illegible] *sons*, and *Kerry*, do come on to morrow morning

Court adjourned till to morrow morning nine o'clock.

Supreme Court.

*SATURDAY*, 25th APRIL.

PRESENT,

*The Second Justice.*

The KING,

*against*

Cæsar *and* Prince, *negroes.*

The KING,

*against*

John Hughson,
Sarah *his Wife*,
Margaret Kerry.

*Ordered*, That the prisoners trials be put off till *tuesday* the 28th instant.

Court adjourned 'till *monday* morning nine o'clock.

Supreme Court.

*MONDAY*, 27th APRIL.

PRESENT,

*The Second Justice.*

His Majesty's ordinance published in court for enlarging the present term to the last *tuesday* in *May* next.

Court adjourned till to morrow morning ten o' clock.

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY*, 28th APRIL.

PRESENT,

*The Second and Third Justices.*

The KING,

*against*

Cæsar *and* Prince, *negroes.*

The KING,

*against*

John Hughson,
Sarah *his Wife*,
Margaret Kerry.

Upon motion of *Mr. Attorney General*,

*Ordered*, That the trials of the prisoners in both causes be put off till the first day of *May*.

Court

Court adjourned till Friday at 10 o'clock in the morning.

The following letter, dated this day at *New-York*, was some time afterwards intercepted in *New-Jersey*, and sent up from a magistrate there to the board here.

The original in female Dutch followeth, so much of it as is material to the present purpose.

'*New-York den 21 April 1741.*

'*Beminde Man Johannis Romme*

'*Dit is om u bekent te maken dat ik u brief entfangen heb by de brenger van dezen in dien wy verstaen dat gy van sins hen tin weer na huis te komen gyn heminde ik verzoek van u dat gy het best van u zelfs maekt om verder te gaen en niet in New-York te komen en u zelf niet bekent te maken waer gy ben voor John Hughson die is van desen dagh zyn tryel te hebben mede zyn vrou en de meyt is King evidens tegen haye gar en zy het u naemaek in tweefel gebracht en ik ben bang dat John Husen en zyn vrou gevangen sall worden by wat ik kan beren en de schout en bumbelas soeken voor u over all want Park neger die houdt zyn woort standen voor jou brother Lucas is voor een jurie man gekosen en die hoort hoe het is Se maek maer maer blyvende u eerwaerde vrou Elezabet Romme tot ter dood toe.*'

Thus translated:

'Beloved husband John Romme,

'THIS is to acquaint you, that I have received your 'letter by the bearer hereof and understand out of it that 'you intend to return home again my dear I desire of you 'that you make the best of your way to go further and not 'to come in New-York and not to make yourself known 'where you are for John Hughson is this day to have his 'trial as also his wife and the servant maid is King's evidence 'against both and she has brought your name likewise in 'question and I am afraid that John Hughson and his wife 'will be hanged by what I can hear and the sheriff and 'bumbailiffs seek for you every where *Vaarck's negro* 'he keeps his word stedfast for you brother Lucas is chosen 'one of the jurymen and he hears how it is so no more

'till death.'

Superscribed,

*For Mr. John Rankin*

Supreme Court,

FRIDAY, 1st MAY.

PRESENT,

*The second and third Justices.*

The KING, } On Trial.
*against*
Cæsar *and* Prince, *Negroes.*

The JURY called, and, the prisoners making no challenge, the following persons were sworn,

*Viz.*

*Roger French,*
*John Groesbeek,*
*John Richard,*
*Abraham Kipp,*
*George Wittis,*
*John Thurman,*
*Patrick Jackson,*
*Benjamin Moore,*
*William Hammersley,*
*John Lasier,*
*Josua Sleydall,*
*John Shurmer,*

THese two negroes were arraigned on *two indictments*, the *twenty-fourth* of *April* last: *The one* for their entering the dwelling house of *Robert Hogg*, of this city, merchant, on the *first* day of *March* then last past, with intent then and there to commit some felony; and for feloniously stealing and carrying away then and there the goods and chattels of the said *Robert Hogg*, of the value of *four pounds five shillings* sterling, against the form of the statutes in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our sovereign lord the King, his crown and dignity.

*The other* for their entering the dwelling house of *Abraham Meyers Cohen* in this city, merchant, on the *first* day of *March*, with intent then and there to commit some felony; and for feloniously stealing and carrying away then and there the goods and chattels of the said *Abraham Meyers Cohen* of the value of *five pounds* Sterling against the form of the statutes, *&c.* and against the King's peace, *&c.*

To each of which indictments they pleaded, *not guilty.*

The

The attorney general having opened both the indictments, he with *Joſeph Murray*, Eſq; *of counſel for the King*, proceeded to examine the witneſſes, *viz.*

For the KING.

Mrs. *Hogg*,
Mrs. *Boſwell*,
*Chriſtopher Wilſon*,
*Rachina Guerin*,
Mr. *Robert Hogg*,
Mr. *Robert Watts*,
*Margaret Serubiere*, alias *Kerry*,
*Abraham Meyers Cohen*,
*Jacob Mills*,
*Thomas Wenman*,
*John Moore*, Eſq;
*Cornelius Brewer*,
*Anthony Ham*,
*Mary Burton*.

For the priſoners.

Alderman *Bancker*,
Alderman *Johnſon*,
*John Auboyneau*.

The priſoners upon their defence denied the charge againſt them. And,

The evidence being ſummed up, which was very ſtrong and full, and the jury charged, they withdrew; and being returned, found them *guilty of the indictments*.

*Ordered*, That the trials of the *Hughſons* and *Margaret Kerry*, be put off till *wedneſday* the 6th inſtant.

Court adjourned till monday morning, *4th May*, ten o'clock.

## *SUNDAY, 3d* MAY.

*ARTHUR PRICE*, ſervant to Captain VINCENT PEARSE, having been committed, upon a charge of ſtealing out of his maſter's houſe ſeveral goods belonging to the lieutenant governor, which had been removed thither for ſafe cuſtody from the fire at the fort; he informed the under-ſheriff, that he had had ſome diſcourſe in the goal with *Peggy*, which he would communicate to a magiſtrate: The under-ſheriff acquainted one of the judges therewith; and he examined *Price* in the evening, and the following depoſition was taken.

## DEPOSITION.

### NUMB. I.

*ARTHUR PRICE* being duly ſworn, *ſaith*, 1. 'That about the beginning of laſt week *Peggy Carey*, or *Kerry*, now in goal, came to the hole of the priſon door, in which he is confined, and told him, *ſhe was very much afraid of thoſe fellows* (meaning the negroes, as he underſtood) *telling or diſcovering ſomething of her*; but, ſaid ſhe, *if they do: by G—d, I will* HANG *them every one*; but that ſhe would *not* FORSWEAR * *herſelf, unleſs they brought her in.* Upon which the deponent aſked her, *Peggy, how* FORSWEAR *yourſelf?* to which ſhe anſwered, *there are fourteen* SWORN. Upon which he further aſked her, *what, is it about Mr.* Hogg's *goods?* and ſhe replied, *no, by G—d,* ABOUT THE FIRE. Upon which the deponent ſaid to her, *what, Peggy, were you going to ſet the town on fire?* and ſhe made anſwer, *ſhe* was not; but ſaid, *by G—d, ſince I knew of it, they made me ſwear:* Upon which the deponent aſked her, *was* John *and his wife in it?* (meaning *John Hughſon* and his wife) and ſhe anſwered, *Yes, by G—d, they were both ſworn as well as the reſt.* Then the deponent aſked her, if ſhe was not afraid that the negroes would diſcover her? And ſhe ſaid, *no*; *for* Prince, Cuffee *and* Cæſar, *and* Forck's [Vaarck's] *negro were all true-hearted fellows.* Then he aſked her, if *Cæſar* was not *Forck*'s negro? And ſhe anſwered, *no, by G—d, it was the other* †; but what other ſhe meant, he did not know.

2. 'That yeſterday in the afternoon the ſaid *Peggy* came to him again, and told him, ſhe had no ſtomach to eat her victuals; for that that b—h (meaning *Hughſon*'s maid § as he underſtood) has fetched me in, and made me as black as the reſt, about the indigo, and Mr. *Hogg*'s goods: but that if they did hang the two poor fellows below (meaning *Cæſar* and *Prince*, as he underſtood) *they* (meaning the reſt of the negroes) *would be revenged on them yet*; but if they ſent them away, it was another caſe. Upon which this deponent ſaid to *Peggy*, I don't doubt but they will endeavour to poiſon this girl that has ſworn, (meaning *Hughſon*'s maid) And *Peggy* replied, *no, by G—d, I don't*

* What ſhe meant by forſwearing herſelf, may be better gueſſed at hereafter. † *Byſſian*, alias *Tom Peal*, alſo belonging to *Vaarck*. § *Mary Burton*.

believe

*'believe that; but they will be revenged of them some other 'ways: And she further said to the deponent, for your life 'and soul of you, you son of a b---h, don't speak a word of 'what I have told you.'*

About this time, *i. e.* the beginning of this month, at *Hackensack*, in *New-Jersey*, eight miles from this city, the inhabitants of that place were alarmed about an hour before day, and presented with a most melancholy and affrighting scene! no less than seven barns in that neighbourhood were all in flames; and the fire had got such head, that all assistance was in vain; for in a short time they were burnt down to the ground. Two negroes, the one belonging to *Derick Van Houra*, the other to *Albert Van Voorhees*, were suspected to have been guilty of this Fact; the former having been seen coming out of one of the barns with a gun loaded, who pretended, on his being discovered, that he saw the person who had fired the barns, upon which his master ordered him to fire at him, and the negro thereupon immediately discharged his piece; but no blood was drawn from any mortal that could be discovered. The latter was found at his master's house loading a gun with two bullets, which he had in his hand ready to put in. Upon these and other presumptive circumstances and proofs, both negroes were apprehended, and in a few days tried, convicted, and burnt at a stake. The former confessed, he had set fire to three of the barns; *the latter would confess nothing; nor would either of them discover*, that any others were concerned with them in this villainy.

Supreme Court.

*MONDAY, 4th* MAY.

PRESENT,

*The second and third Justices.*

The court opened and adjourned till to-morrow afternoon three o'clock.

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY, 5th* MAY.

PRESENT, *As before.*

The court opened and adjourned till to-morrow morning nine o'clock.

Supreme Court.

*WEDNESDAY*, 6th MAY.

PRESENT,

*The second and third Justices.*

The KING,
*against*
John Hughson,
Sarah, *his wife*,
Margaret Sorubiero, *al*, Kerry,
} On trial.

The *Jury* called, and the following jurors were sworn, *Viz.*

*Henry Lawrence*,
*William Hammersley*,
*Sidney Breese*,
*John Smith*,
*Samuel Weaver*,
*Patrick Jackson*,
*John Shurmer*,
*John Hastier*,
*John Robins*,
*Henry Vandewater*,
*Aaron King*,
*Alexander Ward*.

*Benjamin Peck*,
*Joseph North*,
} Jurors challenged by the prisoners.

They were indicted for feloniously, *&c.* receiving on the *third* day of *March* then last past, divers stolen goods, *knowing the same to have been stolen*, * against the form of the statutes, *&c.* and the King's peace, *&c.*

To which indictment they all pleaded, *not guilty*, upon their arraignment, as before.

Council for the KING, { The ATTORNEY GENERAL. JOSEPH MURRAY, Esq;

The *Attorney General* opened the indictment, and then he and Mr. *Murray* examined the witnesses against the criminals, *viz.*

Witnesses for the KING.

*Robert Hogg*,
Mrs. *Hogg*,
*Rachina Guerin*,
*Anthony Ham*, Constable.
*James Mills*,
*Mary Burton*,
Alderman *Moore*,
*Thomas Wenman*, Constable.

* They received the goods of *Cæsar* and *Prince*, principals convict.

Alderman

Alderman *Ronne*, *John Cruber*, Eſq; Mayor.
*Robert Watts*, Eſq; Alderman *Johnſon*,
*Richard Nichells*, Eſq; *William Jamſon*, Eſq;

The conviction of *Cæſar* and *Prince* read.

The examination of *Hughſon* before the juſtices read.

Witneſſes for the priſoners.

*John Nicolls*, *Peter Anderſon*, and
Capt. *Lee*, His *Wife*.

And the charge againſt them being fully proved; the evidence ſummed up; the arguments cloſed, and the jury charged, they withdrew; and being returned found them all *guilty*.

*Sarah Hughſon*, ſingle-woman, daughter of *John Hughſon* and *Sarah* his wife, was this morning committed as one of the confederates in the conſpiracy, being apprehended while the court was ſitting.

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

*Jack* (SLEYDALL's negro) was this day committed on ſuſpicion of putting fire to Mr. *Murray*'s hay-ſtack.

## Supreme Court.

### *THURSDAY*, 7th MAY, *A. M.*

### PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

Court opened and adjourned till 4 o'clock in the afternoon

*P. M.*

### PRESENT, *as before.*

Court opened and adjourned 'till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

## *DEPOSITION*

*Taken before the Judges.*

NUMB. II.

*ARTHUR PRICE* being duly ſworn, *ſaith*, 1. 'That yeſterday morning having diſcourſe with *Sarah* 'the daughter of *John Hughſon*, about the fires which have 'lately happened in the town; ſhe told him, that ſhe had

'been with a fortune teller, who told her that in less 'than five weeks time she would come to trouble, if she 'did not take good care of herself; but after that she 'would come to good fortune; then he enquired of 'her father's fortune; and she said, her father would be 'tried and condemned, but not hanged; but was to go 'over the water.

2. 'That then, after some other discourse, this depo- 'nent told her, that some of the negroes who were con- 'cerned in the plot about the fires, had discovered; upon 'which she said, she did not know of any plot; and there- 'upon he told her, that they that were sworn in the plot 'had discovered, and brought them every one in: upon which 'she coloured, and put her bonnet back, and changed 'colour several times, and asked him if he knew who it 'was and when he had heard it? And he told her, he had 'heard it by the by, and it was kept private: upon which 'she made a long stop; and then said, it must be either 'HOLT's *negro* or TODD's; for, said she, *we were always 'afraid of them, and mistrusted them, though they were as 'bad as the rest, and were to have set their own master's 'houses on fire*; and then she said, *I wish that* Todd *had 'sent his black dog away, or sold him, when he was a going 'to do it* *.

3. 'That then the deponent told her, sure you had bet- 'ter tell every thing that you know; for that may be of 'some service to your father: upon which she said, no; 'for that they were doing all that ever they could to take 'his life away; and that she would sooner suffer death, 'and be hanged with her daddy (if he was to be hanged) 'than she would give them that satisfaction of telling or 'discovering any thing to them; or words to that effect: 'that she was to have gone up into the country (like a 'fool that she was that she did not go) but staid to see what 'would become of her mammy and daddy; but that now 'she would go up in the country, and that she would be 'hanged if ever they should get her in *York* again; but 'if *they* (meaning the people of this city, as he under- 'stood) *had not better care of themselves, they would have 'a great deal more damage and danger in* York, *than they 'were aware of*; and if they did hang her daddy, they had

* *Dundee.* Todd, it seems, did threaten, and was going to send this negro beyond sea last fall; so that her intelligence was right.

'better

'better do something else; and as to the fire at the fort 'they did not set the saddle on the right horse.'

4. 'That on monday last Peggy came to him, and bid 'him not discover any thing for his life, that she had told 'him; for if he did, *by God she would cut his throat.*'

5. 'That deponent further saith, that as to the expres- 'sion made use of by *Sarah Hughson*, viz. As to the fire 'at the fort, *they did not set the saddle on the right horse*; 'the occasion of these words was, the deponent's telling 'her, that they had been picking out of him what they 'could concerning the fire at the fort, and thought 'that he knew something of it; but he said to her, that 'he took GOD to be his judge, that he did not know any 'thing of it †.'

Upon the information by this deposition, *Dundee* (TODD's negro) was apprehended and committed; but, upon examination, denied knowing any thing of the conspiracy.

The other negro was at this time gone with his master (HOLT) a dancing master, to *Jamaica* in the *West Indies*, who thought it proper to remove from hence soon after the fire at the fort.

VOLUNTARY CONFESSION.

*MARGARET SARINBIRR, alias KEARY*, declares, 'That she was several times at the house of 'John Romme, shoemaker, and tavernkeeper, and saw 'several meetings of the negroes from time to time; and 'in particular, in the month of December last past, she saw 'assembled there in or about ten or twelve in number, 'viz.

'*Cuffee*, belonging to Mr. PHILIPSE.
'*Brash*, Mr. JAY's.
'*Curacoa Dick*, a negro man.
'*Cæsar*, PINTARD's.
'*Patrick*, ENGLISH's.
'A negro belonging to Mr. BREASTEAD, in Pearl 'street. [*Jack*]
'*Cato*, alderman MOORE's.

† Upon the supposition, that *Arthur* knew nothing of the secrets of the conspiracy before he came to gaol the reader may be apt to judge that he acted with more than ordinary acuteness for one of his station, in pumping so much out of *Peggy* and *Sarah* (*Hughson*'s daughter) and their confidence in him, if he were a stranger to them, was somewhat extraordinary on the occasion.

" The reſt of their names that was in the combination " I cannot remember, or their maſter's names. They pro- " poſed, *to burn the fort firſt, and afterwards the city;* " *and then ſteal, rob and carry away all the money and goods* " *they could procure*, and was to be carried to *Romme's*, and " was to be joined by the country negroes; *and that they were* " *to murder* every one that had money.

" The reaſon why I did not make this diſcovery before, " *Romme ſwore them all* never to diſcover, *and ſwore me too*; " and I thought, I WOULD WRONG MY OWN SOUL, if I " diſcovered it. And that all the reſt of the negroes in ci- " ty and country were to meet in one night.

" All of the above I am ready to declare upon oath *."

*Signed with her mark* X

This declaration was ſent from the goal by the under-ſheriff to one of the judges late this night.

The conviction of the two negroes *Cæſar* and *Prince*, as principals in the two robberies: and of *Hughſon*, *his wife*, and *Peggy* herſelf, as acceſſaries in receiving the goods ſtolen; alarmed her ſo, that ſhe ſeemed now to think it high time to do ſomething to recommend herſelf to mercy; and this confeſſion coming voluntarily from her, it gave hopes that ſhe was in earneſt, and would make ſome material diſcoveries.

## Supreme Court.

*FRIDAY*, 8*th* MAY.

PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING,
*againſt*
Cæſar *and* Prince, *Negroes.*

THE priſoners having been capitally convicted on two ſeveral indictments for felony, and being brought to the bar, the court proceeded to give ſentence; which was paſſed by the ſecond juſtice, as followeth.

'You *Cæſar* and *Prince*, the grand jury having found 'two indictments againſt each of you, for feloniouſly

* This confeſſion was penned by a goal ſecretary.

'ſtealing

'ſtealing and taking away from Mr. *Hoyt*, and Mr. *Mayer Cohen*, ſundry goods of conſiderable value; to theſe 'indictments you ſeverally pleaded, *Not guilty*; and for 'your trials put yourſelves upon GOD and the country: 'which country having found you guilty; it now only re'mains for the court to pronounce that judgment which the 'requires, and the nature of your crimes deſerve.

'But before I proceed to ſentence, I muſt tell you, that 'you have been proceeded againſt in the ſame manner as 'any white man, guilty of your crimes would have been: 'you had not only the liberty of ſending for your witneſ'ſes; aſking them ſuch queſtions as you thought proper; 'but likewiſe making the beſt defence you could; and as 'you have been convicted by twelve honeſt men upon 'their oaths; ſo the juſt judgment of GOD hath at 'length overtaken you.

'I have great reaſon to believe, that the crimes you now 'ſtand convicted of, are not the leaſt of thoſe you have 'been concerned in; for by your general characters you 'have been very wicked fellows, hardened ſinners, and 'ripe, as well as ready, for the moſt enormous and dar'ing enterprizes; eſpecially you, *Caeſar*: and as the time 'you have yet to live is to be but very ſhort, I earneſtly 'adviſe and exhort both of you to employ it in the moſt 'diligent and beſt manner you can, by confeſſing your ſins, 'repenting ſincerely of them, and praying GOD of his 'infinite goodneſs to have mercy on your ſouls: and as 'GOD knows the ſecrets of your hearts, and cannot 'be cheated or impoſed upon; ſo you muſt ſhortly give 'an account to him, and anſwer for all your actions; 'and depend upon it, if you do not truly repent before 'you die, there is a hell to puniſh the wicked eternally.

'And as it is not in your powers to make full reſtitution 'for the many injuries you have done the publick; ſo I 'adviſe both of you to do all that in you is, to prevent 'further miſchiefs; by diſcovering ſuch perſons as have 'been concerned with you in deſigning or endeavouring to 'burn this city, and to deſtroy it's inhabitants: this I am fully 'perſuaded is in your power to do if you will; if ſo, and 'you do not make ſuch diſcovery; be aſſured God Al'mighty will puniſh you for it, though we do not: there'fore I adviſe you to conſider this well, and I hope both 'of you will tell the truth.

'And

'And now, nothing further remains for me to say, but
'That you *Cæsar*, and you *Prince*, are to be taken
'hence to the place from whence you came, and from
'thence to the place of execution, and there you and each of
'you, are to be hanged by the neck until you be dead.
'And I pray the Lord to have mercy on your souls.'

*Ordered*, That this execution be on *Monday* next, the eleventh day of this instant, between the hours of nine and one of the same day.

And further ordered, That after the execution of the said sentence, the body of *Cæsar* be hung in chains.

Court adjourned till *Monday* morning next ten o'clock.

*PEGGY* was examined by the judges touching the matter of her confession delivered in writing last night, which she declared for truth; and for the greater solemnity was sworn to it, after having been seriously admonished not to dare to say any thing but the truth, or to accuse innocent persons: she was told, that we had dived so far into this mystery of iniquity already, that we could easily discern whether she prevaricated or not; and that if she did, she must not flatter herself with the hopes of being recommended to mercy; so that such disingenuous behaviour would but deceive herself, and make her case desperate; or in words to that purpose: she put on the air of sincerity, as if disposed to make a discovery; but seemed to be under terrible apprehensions. What she said corresponded with the scheme of the plot so far as we had got light into it, and in a great measure confirmed what *Arthur Price* said in his deposition, NUMB. I. before, with this difference, that she shifted the scene from *John Hughson*'s to *John Romme*'s, and protested that she did not know that the *Hughsons* were any wise privy to, or concerned in the conspiracy.

At this examination, she related a great many particulars, which for want of time were not committed to writing; but her further examination deferred to the next day.

*Romme* at this time absconded; orders having been given for apprehending him long before, upon suspicion of his having received some of the goods stolen from Mr. *Hogg*'s; and *Peggy* and her advisers might think as he was out of reach, she might safely shift the scene to his house: or this bloody scheme might have been brooding at both places, and with her knowledge; but one may be persuaded from the course

courſe of the evidence, that *Hutton* was appriſed at leaſt of the conſpiracy carrying on at *Hughley's*.

Upon this examination, *Romme's* wife was apprehended and committed.

## SATURDAY, 9th MAY.

Many hours were taken up in *Prat's* examination yeſterday, and this day; which was committed to writing, as followeth.

## EXAMINATION.

*Taken before the Judges.*

NUMB. I.

MARGARET SALINBURGH*, alias KERRY, ſaith,

1. 'That ſome time laſt fall ſhe took lodgings with one 'Frank, a free negro, fronting the new battery, within this city, about three or four doors from the houſe of 'John Romme, ſhoemaker, and continued there till the 'beginning of *February* laſt, during which time ſhe employed the ſaid *Romme* in making ſhoes for her; and on that 'account became acquainted with him and his wife, and 'uſed often to go backwards and forwards to and from the 'ſaid houſe; by which means ſhe had the opportunity of 'ſeeing many negroes there at ſeveral different times, who 'uſed to reſort thither to drink drams, punch and other 'ſtrong liquors; the ſaid *Romme* keeping a publick houſe; 'and that often numbers of them have continued at the 'ſaid *Romme's* houſe till two or three o'clock in the morning, to her knowledge, drinking, ſinging and playing at 'dice.

2. 'That on or about the beginning of *November* laſt, on 'a *ſunday* evening, between the hours of eleven and twelve 'ſhe (the examinant) being returning home to her ſaid 'lodging, by the way of *Whitehall*, ſaw two negroes coming towards her with each of them a firkin upon their 'ſhoulders, and ſaw them turn into *Romme's* gate; and that 'preſently after the ſame two negroes returned from the 'ſaid *Romme's* houſe, and went by the examinant (who

* How ſhe came by the name *Servbiere*, by which ſhe ſtands indicted we know not; ſhe ſaid ſhe was married to one *Salinburgh*.

'ſtood

'ſtood under *Hunt*'s ſhed) at ſome diſtance towards the wa-
'ter-ſide; and returned again by him with each of them
'one firkin more upon each of their ſhoulders, and went
'with them alſo in at the ſaid *Romme*'s gate; and return'd
'by the examinant a ſecond time, and went towards the
'water-ſide; and in the ſame manner made as many turns,
'till the examinant counted that the ſaid negroes had carried
'into the ſaid *Romme*'s gate *fifteen* of the ſaid firkins; and
'the reaſon of the examinant's ſtaying under the ſaid *Hunt*'s
'ſhed to obſerve the motions of the ſaid two negroes, was
'becauſe ſhe ſuſpected them to be ſtolen goods *.

3. 'That one evening ſome time about Chriſtmas laſt,
'about eight or nine o' clock, ſhe was at the houſe of the
'ſaid *John Romme*, where ſhe ſaw in company, together
'with the ſaid *Romme* and *his wife*, ten or eleven negroes,
'all in one room; and the ſaid *John Romme* was obſerving
'to the negroes how well the rich people in this place lived,
'and ſaid, *if they* (meaning the negroes as ſhe underſtood)
'*would be adviſed by him, they* (meaning himſelf and the
'negroes as ſhe underſtood) *ſhould have the money*: To
'which *Cuffee* (Mr. PHILIPSE's negro) replied, *How will you*
'*manage that? Well enough*, ſaid Romme, *ſet them all a light*
'*fire; burn the houſes of them that have the moſt money, and*
'*kill them all, as the negroes would have done their maſters*
'*and miſtreſſes formerly*: † *that he* (Romme) *ſhould be*
'*captain over them* (meaning the negroes as the examinant
'underſtood) *till they could get all their money, and then he*
'(Romme) *would be governor*. To which *Cuffee* ſaid, *they*

* Theſe firkins were ſaid to have been ſtolen out of Mr. *Jones*'s ſtore-houſe.

† There was a riſing of the negroes in this city in the year 1712; on the 7th of *April*, about one or two o'clock in the morning, the houſe of *Peter Van Tilburgh* was ſet on fire by the negroes, who being armed with guns, knives, *&c.* killed and wounded ſeveral white people as they were coming to aſſiſt in extinguiſhing the flames; Notice thereof being ſoon carried to the *fort*, his excellency governor HUNTER, ordered a cannon to be fired from the ramparts, to alarm the town, and detached a party of ſoldiers to the fire; at whoſe appearance thoſe villains immediately fled, and made their way out of town as faſt as they could, to hide themſelves in the woods and ſwamps: In their flight they alſo kill'd and wounded ſeveral white people; but being cloſely purſued, ſome conceal'd themſelves in barns, and others ſhelter'd in the ſwamps or woods, which being ſurrounded and ſtrictly guarded till the morning, many of them were then taken: Some finding no way for their eſcape, ſhot themſelves. The end of it was, that after theſe fooliſh wretches had murdered eight or ten white people, and ſome of the confederates had been their own executioners; nineteen more of them were apprehended, brought upon their trials for a conſpiracy to murder the people, *&c.* and were convicted and executed; and ſeveral more that turned evidences, were tranſported.

'*could*

'could not do it: yes, says Romme, we'll do well enough; we'll send into the country for the rest of the negroes to help, because he could write, and he knew several negroes in the country that could read: And he encouraged them, and said, he would stand by them; and that the sun would shine very bright by and by, and never fear, my lads: but that if it should happen that any thing should come out, he would make his escape, and go to North-Carolina, Cape Fear, or somewhere thereabouts; or into the Mowhawks country, where he had lived before; but besides, the d—l could not hurt him; for he had a great many friends in town, and the best in the place would stand by him. Or the said *Romme* expressed himself in words to the effect before mentioned.

4. 'That during all the discourse of the said *Romme* to 'the negroes as abovementioned, she did not observe any 'of the said number of ten or eleven, to make any answer to *Romme*'s discourse aforesaid, excepting *Cuffee* (PHILIPSE's,) '*Curacoa Dick*, PINTARD's *Cæsar*, *Will*, WEAVER's 'since dead,) and Mr. MOORE's *Cato*; but *Cuffee* spoke 'the most, and said, *the d—l take the failer*; though the 'other four seemed to be as forward for the plot as *Cuffee*.

5. 'That the other negroes that were present at the a-'bove discourse, whose persons or names she now remem-'bers, were *Patrick* (ENGLISH's) *Jack* (BREASTRAD's) 'and *Brash* (Mr. JAY's.)

6. 'That at the same meeting, there were several other 'negroes, which made up the number ten or eleven, whose 'names, or the names of their masters, she does not now 'remember; but believes she should remember their faces 'again if she should see them.

7. 'That at the same meeting, the said *John Romme* 'proposed to the said negroes present, *To burn the fort first, 'and afterwards the city; and then to steal and rob, and 'carry away all the money and goods they could procure*; and 'that they should be brought to *Romme*'s house, and he 'would take care to hide them.

8. 'That *Romme* said further, that if the fire did not suc-'ceed, and they could not compass their ends that way; 'then he proposed to the negroes present, that they should 'steal all that they could from their masters; then he would 'carry them to a strange country, and give them their liber-'ty, and set them free. After this, *Romme* asked them, '*If it would do?* that is, whether the negroes then pre-'sent liked his proposals, (as she understood.) To which

'*Cuffee*

'Cuffee answered, there's great talking, and no cyder; and
'they broke up: And the negroes remaining at that time
'departed; some of them, to wit, Bruce, Patrick,
'and the several other negroes (whose names the exa-
'minant at all remember) having left the company about
'hour before; but Cuff, Curacoa Dick, Weaver's Will,
'Cato and Pintard's Cuffee staid till the last.

9. 'That she well remembers, that Cuff, Curacoa Dick,
'Weaver's Will, Pintard's Cuffee, and Mr. Moore's
'Cato; and also Auboyneau's Prince, and Vaarck's
'Cuffee, used much to frequent that house in the evenings,
'and to stay often late in the night, drinking and playing at
'dice; but she never heard any discourse amongst them con-
'cerning burning the fort, or setting fire to the town, but
'the time abovementioned.

10. 'That immediately after the negroes broke up the
'meeting before mentioned, the said *John Romme* insisted
'upon this examinant's being *sworn to secrecy, that she would*
'*not discover any thing that she knew had passed in his house,*
'*either relating to the butter, or the fire, or discourse at the*
'*said meeting; which she accordingly was; and kissed a book*,
'what book it was, knows not.

11. 'That *Romme's* wife was by, all or most part of the
'Time, during the meeting and discourse aforesaid; and
'when *Romme* insisted that this examinant should be sworn
'as aforesaid, as well as his wife; for that the said *Romme*
'declared, they were both sworn to secrecy, and all the
'negroes: But the examinant saith, that the said *Romme's*
'wife did not at all join in any of the discourse beforemen-
'tioned."

*Elizabeth Romme*, wife of *John Romme*, was sent for and examined concerning what *Peggy* had declared to have passed at her house.

## *EXAMINATION.*

1. SHE denied, 'That she knew any thing at all about
'the conspiracy for firing the fort and the town,
'and murdering the people.

2. '*Denied* there were ever such companies of negroes
'met at her house as *Peggy* declared.

3. 'She *confessed* there had been some firkins of butter
'brought thither about the time mentioned by *Peggy*; but
'said, *that they were received by her husband*, and she knew
'nothing of them.

4. '*Denied*

4. 'Denied that ever heard or knew of any such design
'by intended by her husband, or admonished by him to keep
'for *Peggy*, or any other person whatsoever, with regard to
'secrecy concerning the stolen buttons or any other goods,
'or concerning the conspiracy.

5. 'Confessed, that a negro (the father of Mr. PINTARD's
'*Cuffee*) kept game-fowls at their house, and used to come
'there to bring them victuals, but never used to stay long.
'Confessed that he was there about Christmas last.' And

6. 'That the last winter *Cuff*'s father brought them sticks
'of wood now and then, and she believed he had them
'out of his master's yard.

7. 'Confessed, that negroes used to come to their house
'to drink drams, but never used to stay; that *Cæsar* (VAN-
'ARCK's negro) used to come morning and evening often;
'AUBOYNEAU's *Prince* sometimes; Mr. MOORE's *Cato*
'once or twice, and not oftener, as she remembered; nev-
'er saw BREASTEAD the hatter's negro there at all; nor
'Mr. JAY's *Brush*; nor *Patrick* (ENGLISH's negro) but had
'seen *Bastian* (VANARCK's negro) there, and Mr. PIN-
'TARD's *Cæsar*; but never saw above three negroes at a
'time there, and that very seldom; and that when there
'were three, they were always *Cuffee* (PHILIPSE's) *Cæsar*
'(VANARCK's) and *Prince* (AUBOYNEAU's.)'

This afternoon orders were given for apprehending the several negroes mentioned by *Peggy* to have been present at *Romme*'s at the time she said *Romme* and the negroes were talking of the conspiracy; those of them whom she knew by name, and were not before committed, were soon found, and brought to jail.

In the evening the judges came to the city hall, and sent for *Peggy*, and had the several negroes brought one by one, and passed in review before her, *viz. Patrick* (ENGLISH's) *Cato* (Col. MOORE's) *Curacoa Dick*, *Cæsar*, (Alderman PINTARD's) *Brash* (Mr. JAY's) and *Jack* (BREASTEAD's) and she distinguished them every one, called them by their names, and declared, those were at the abovementioned meeting.

These negroes were each of them separately examined, and denied being at any such meeting, or that they knew any thing of the conspiracy.

At first, *Cork* (ENGLISH's Negro) was brought by mistake instead of *Patrick*; and *Peggy* declared, he was not *English*'s negro which she meant: *Cork* was unfortunately of a coun-

tenance somewhat ill favoured, naturally of a suspicious look, and reckoned withal to be unlucky too; his being [illegible] before the magistrates in such a perilous season, might thought sufficient to alarm the most innocent of them, and occasion the appearance of their being under some terrible apprehensions; but it was much otherwise with *Cork*; and notwithstanding the disadvantage of his natural aspect, upon his being interrogated concerning the conspiracy; he shewed such a chearful, open, honest smile upon his countenance (*none of your fictitious hypocritical grins*) that every one that was by, and observed it (and there were several in the room) jumped in the same observation and opinion, that they never saw the fellow look so handsom: such an efficacy have truth and innocence, that they even reflect beauty upon deformity.

On the contrary, *Patrick*'s visage betrayed his guilt: those who are used to negroes may have experienced, that some of them when charged with any piece of villainy, they have been detected in, have an odd knack or (it is hard what to call or how to describe it) way of turning their eyes inwards, as it were, as if shocked at the consciousness of their own perfidy; their looks at the same time *discovering* all the symptoms of the most inveterate malice and resentment: this was *Patrick*'s appearance; and such his behaviour upon examination, as served to induce one's credit to what *Peggy* had declared; so far at least, that he was present at a meeting when the conspiracy was talked of, and was one of the persons consenting to act a part in that infernal scheme; so that he was committed to goal, and the rest of them, which *Peggy* declared, as they were produced, to be the persons she meant.

These negroes impeached by *Peggy*, and committed upon her information, and which had passed in review before him, were likewise shewn to *Mary Burton*, who declared, that she did not remember, that ever she saw any of them at *Hughson*'s; which seemed to add strength to what *Peggy* had declared in her examination, that this villainous scheme was carrying on at *Romme*'s as well as *Hughson*'s.

## *DEPOSITION.*

*Taken before one of the Judges.*

*ABIGAL EARLE*, being sworn, deposeth, 'That just 'before the going in of the afternoon church, on the last 'sunday

'sunday that coals were found in Mr. *Murray*'s hayſtack *
'ſhe ſaw three negro [illegible] Broad way; that ſhe
'was then looking out of her window up one pair of ſtairs
'in the houſe [illegible]; and as they
'paſſed under the window, ſhe heard one of them ſay, *viz.*
'*fire, fire, ſcorch, ſcorch it*, BY-AND-BY!
'and then threw up his hands and laughed. That after the
'ſaid negroes were gone by, ſhe went into Mrs. *George*'s
'houſe †, and told her what ſhe had heard; and about an
'hour after, when church was out, ſhe ſaw the ſame ne-
'groes coming down the Broad way; and then ſhewed Mrs.
'*George* the negro that had ſpoke the aforeſaid words, where-
'upon Mrs. *George* ſaid, that is Mr. WALTER's *Quaco*.

'ANNA GEORGE being ſworn, depoſes, That ſhe
'heard the above-written depoſition of *Margaret Hardy* read,
'and knows that all therein mentioned, which any ways
'relates to her the deponent, is true.

Upon theſe depoſitions, *Quaco* was recommitted this e-
vening.

## SUNDAY, 10th MAY.

A young negro fellow of Mrs. *Carpenter*'s had given ſome information, that *Sarah* NIBLET's negro wench, had told him, that *Caeſar*, alias *Sandy* NIBLET, a negro boy, of a-bout ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age, had been concerned in ſetting the fort on fire; that he had likewiſe ſet [illegible]*do*'s houſe, next door to his maſter's, on fire; and had alſo thrown fire over alderman *Bancker*'s fence into his yard. This negro fellow was ſent for, and likewiſe *Sarah* (NIBLET's) and he declared before one of the [illegible] to *Sarah*'s face, to the ſame purport. The [illegible] to be under great terror, and trembled much; but nothing could be got out of her more than a peremptory denial that ſhe had ever ſaid any ſuch things to the above negro.

*Sarah* was committed.

*Sandy* had then lately been ſent away by his maſter to *Albany* in order to be ſold; but orders were immediately ſent to bring him back.

*Niblet* the maſter was ſent for, and examined as to the characters of theſe ſervants; but he ſaid, *he knew no harm of them.*

* Sunday 5th *April*. † Which was the next door.

Supreme Court,

*MONDAY*, 11th MAY.

PRESENT,

*The second Justice.*

*Ordered*, That the gibbet on which the body of the negro *Cæsar* is to be hanged in chains, be fixed on the island near the powder-house.

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

*CÆSAR* and *Prince* were executed this day at the gallows, according to sentence: they died very stubbornly, without confessing any thing about the conspiracy; and denied they knew any thing of it to the last. The body of *Cæsar* was accordingly hung in chains.

These two negroes bore the characters of very wicked fellows; had before been detected in some robberies, for which they had been publickly chastised at the whipping post, and were persons of most obstinate and untractable temper; so that there was no expectation of drawing any thing from them which would make for the discovery of the conspiracy; though there seemed good reason to conclude, as well from their characters as what had been charged upon them by information from others, that they were two principal ringleaders in it amongst the *blacks*: It was thought proper to execute them for the robbery, and not wait the bringing them to a trial for the conspiracy, though the proof against them was strong and clear concerning their guilt as to that also; and it was imagined, that as stealing and plundering was a principal part of the hellish scheme in agitation, among the inferior sort of these infernal confederates; this example and punishment might break the knot, and induce some of them to unfold this mystery of iniquity, in hopes thereby to recommend themselves to mercy; and it is probable, that with some it had this effect.

Supreme

## Supreme Court.

TUESDAY, 12th MAY.

PRESENT

*The second and third Justices.*

The KING,

*against*

John Hughson, *and*

Sarah *his wife.*

THE prisoners *John Hughson* and *Sarah* his wife, having been indicted for conspiring, confederating and combining with divers negroes and others, to burn the city of *New-York*, and also to kill and destroy the inhabitants thereof; were set to the bar and arraigned on the said indictment. And thereupon pleaded, *not guilty*.

*Margaret Kerry* was also included in this indictment; but she being in a *disposition*, as it was thought at that time, for making a discovery; it was judged proper to postpone her arraignment.

Court adjourned to *Friday* the 15th instant, ten o'clock in the morning.

*Arthur Price* having been found by experience to be very adroit at pumping out the secrets of the conspirators, in the two instances of *Peggy* and *Sarah Hughson* the daughter, before set forth; the under sheriff was ordered to put *Cuffee* (Mr. PHILIPSE's negro) into the same cell with him, and to give them a tankard of punch now and then, in order to chear up their spirits, and make them more sociable: These directions were accordingly observed, and produced the desired effects; and one of the judges being acquainted that *Arthur* had something to communicate, he went up this morning in order to examine him.

## *DEPOSITION,*

*Taken before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. III.

*ARTHUR PRICE* being duly sworn, *saith*, 1. 'That 'having discourse on saturday night last, with *Cuffee*, 'a negro slave belonging to Mr. *Philipse*, he the said *Cuffee*, 'amongst other discourse, said, that he was one of the

'*Geneva* CLUB * *that was ſworn*; but being overcome with 'ſleep, he did not go to their meeting at that time: That '*Cuffee* aſked the deponent what could be the reaſon that '*Peggy* was called down ſo often †? The deponent replied, 'he thought *Peggy* was diſcovering the plot about the fire; 'that he had heard ſhe had diſcovered about the fire at the 'fort: *Cuffee* replied, ſhe could not do that unleſs ſhe *for-* '*ſwore* herſelf, he knew; for that he that had done that 'was *ſworn* after ſhe (*Peggy*) was in priſon: That he (*Caſ-* '*ſee*) left his maſter's houſe in the evening, and went along 'the wharfs to the Fly-market, and waited there till one '*Quack* came out of his maſter's houſe; they two then went 'to the houſe of *John Hughſon*, where they met no body 'but *John Hughſon*, his *wife*, and daughter *Sarah*; that 'they (the two negroes) called for a tankard of punch; that '*Hughſon* ſwore *Quack* three times; that they only drank 'out their punch, and then went down to the Fly. That 'this deponent then ſaid, I believe I know this *Quack*, and 'that he lived with a butcher. *Cuffee* replied, no; he doth 'not live with a butcher; but he lived with a painter, who 'lived within a few doors of a butcher: which painter's 'name he underſtood to be *Rooſevelt*, according to the beſt 'of his remembrance.

2. 'That *Cuffee* told him, that *Quack* was married to a 'negro wench who is cook to the fort, to the governor as 'he underſtood; that they were all to meet at *Hughſon*'s the 'ſunday after *Quack* was ſworn; but ſome came and ſome 'did not. That the deponent, upon ſome further diſcourſe,

* There was a confederacy of negroes, of which *Cæſar* (VARICK's) and *Prince* (AUBOYNEAU's) both hanged yeſterday, and *Cuffee* (Mr. FRAUNCES's) were the heads and ringleaders; who robbed, pilfered and ſtole whenever they had an opportunity: And it happened about five or ſix years ago, a cellar of one *Baker*, a tavern-keeper in this city, had one night been broken open, and robbed of ſome geneva; many of the parties concerned were detected, *viz.* ſeveral negroes, of which *Cæſar* and *Prince* were two principals; and all that were diſcovered were chaſtiſed at the publick whipping-poſt: From thence it may be ſuppoſed they became diſtinguiſhed among each other by the name of the Geneva club; for they uſed frequently to be junketting together at nights with *Cuff*, upon the produce of the ſpoils of their pilfering. ——But it came out upon the examination of theſe negroes, that they had before that time the impudence to aſſume the ſtile and title of Free Maſons, in imitation of a ſociety here; which was looked upon to be a groſs affront to the provincial grand maſter and gentlemen of the fraternity at that time, and was very ill accepted: However from this time the negroes may be ſuppoſed to have declined their pretenſions to this title; for we heard nothing more of them afterwards under that ſtile. But it is probable that moſt of this Geneva club that were ſworn (as *Cuff* ſaid) were of the conſpiracy; and it is likely, that by the ſwearing, *Cuff* meant, ſworn of the conſpiracy.

† She had been frequently ſent for to be examined.

'aſked

'asked *Cuffee*, how *Quack* could do it? (meaning the ſetting
'fire to the houſe in the fort) *Cuffee* anſwered, he could
'not tell how he did it; *but that* Quack *was to do it, and*
'*did do it*.

3. 'That *Cuffee* ſaid, they were to meet, and have a
'club at *John Hughſon*'s in the Eaſter holidays; but that
'the d—d conſtables hindered them.

4. 'That he aſked *Cuffee*, whether he did not think that
'the firing would be found out; he replied, no, by G—d,
'he did not think it ever would.

5. 'That he further aſked *Cuffee*, if he was not afraid,
'that the two negroes that were to be executed on mon-
'day would diſcover (the affair about the firing of the fort
'and town meaning) *Cuffee* anſwered, he was not afraid of
'that; for that *he was ſure they would be burnt to aſhes be-*
'*fore they would diſcover it, he would lay his life on it*.

6. 'That yeſterday the deponent having ſome further
'diſcourſe with *Cuffee*, he ſaid, he wondered *why they only*
'*took up the Long-bridge boys, and did not take up thoſe of*
'*the Smith's-fly*; for he believed, if the truth was known,
'*they* (the Smith's-fly negroes meaning) *were as much con-*
'*cerned as they* (or the Long-bridge meaning.)'

Upon this depoſition, *Quack* (ROOSEVELT's) was appre-
hended and committed; who was one of the *Smith's-fly*
*boys*, as *Cuffee* called them.

## *WEDNESDAY, 13th May.*

This being the day appointed by the lieutenant gover-
nor's proclamation, iſſued the tenth of *April* laſt, to be
obſerved throughout the province as a day of public faſting and
humiliation; the ſame was reverently and decently obſerv-
ed, particularly in this city, by perſons of all perſuaſions;
the ſhops were all ſhut up, and perſons of all ranks reſort-
ed to their reſpective places of divine worſhip, and ſeem-
ed deeply affected with a ſenſe of the calamities with which
we had of late been viſited: his moſt gracious Majeſty, for
the vindicating the honour of his crown, having declared war
againſt the King of *Spain*; the viſitation which the province un-
derwent with the ſeverity of the cold weather the laſt winter,
which reduced many families to extremity and want by the
loſs of their cattle, *&c.* the many houſes and dwellings that
had been fired about our ears, without any diſcovery of
the cauſe or occaſion of them, which had put us into the

utmoſt conſternation: all theſe diſtreſſes ſucceeding upon the heels of each other, were ſurely moſt likely to awaken us to our duty, and a due ſenſe of our demerits.

## DEPOSITION

*Before the Judges.*

NUMB. II.

MARY BURTON, being duly ſworn, depoſed, 1. 'That 'a day or two after ſhe was examined before the grand 'jury, ſhe was coming by *Vaarck*'s door in the Broad ſtreet 'of this city, and ſaw a negro of the ſaid *Vaarck*'s (now at the time of her examination being produced) called himſelf by the name of *Baſtian*, *but uſed to be called by the negroes, Tom Paal*, who aſked the deponent, whether *ſhe had diſcovered any thing about the fires?* To which the deponent anſwered, no; to which 'he replied, *D—n you, it was not beſt for you, for ſure you ſhould be burnt in the next.*

2. 'That *Quaco* * the negro man now produced to her, 'ſhe has often ſeen at *Hughſon*'s door along with PHILIPSE's *Cuff*, *Cæſar* (VAARCK's) and *Prince* (AUBOYNEAU's) but never ſaw *Quaco* within *Hughſon*'s houſe, 'as ſhe remembers.

3. 'That ſhe has ſeen *Jack* (SLEYDALL's, the tallow-'chandler) very often at *Hughſon*'s houſe, and believes he 'was very well acquainted with *Hughſon*'s eldeſt daughter 'Sarah; but does not remember ſhe ever ſaw him there 'at the times of the meetings of the negroes, when they 'talked about fires; but from the kindneſs ſhewn to him 'by *Hughſon, his wife, and daughter* aforeſaid, ſhe had 'great reaſon to think he was in their ſecrets.

4. 'That ſhe hath oftentimes ſeen many negroes at 'Hughſon's houſe, ſhe believes thirty together; *eſpecially 'on a ſunday*; many of them playing at dice; whoſe faces 'ſhe could remember if ſhe ſaw them; and ſhe believes 'there were thirty of them concerned in the conſpiracy a-'bout the fires; and ſome *country negroes*, particularly one 'Jamaica.

5. 'That *Hughſon* and *his wife*, and *Peggy*, and *Sarah* 'Hughſon the daughter, uſed, at the meetings of the ne-'groes, to be the forwardeſt of any of them in talking a-

* *Roſevelt's.*

'bout

'bout fires, (that is to say) *that they would burn the fort; 'then they would go to the Fly† and burn the whole town, 'and destroy all the people*; to which all the negroes present 'were consenting; and by name *Cuffee*, *Cæsar* and *Prince*, '*Albany*, *Tom Pook*, alias *Bastian*, amongst the rest.

6. 'That she knows *Hughson* and his family, and *John 'Romme* were very intimately acquainted; and the latter 'used frequently to be at *Hughson*'s house, where they used 'to retire to a private room; where *Peggy* afterwards lay 'in; and used to have a great deal of discourse together; 'but when the deponent overheard them, they were talk-'ing *Dutch*; but *Romme* used to tell *Hughson*, he was a-'fraid of the deponent: to which *Hughson* replied, *he 'need not to be afraid of her; for that she was bound to him, 'and she dared not tell; for if she did he would murder her*: 'and afterwards *Romme* would be more free before the de-'ponent.

7. 'That she knows *Jonneau* (VAARCK's negro) and 'has seen him at *Hughson*'s house a drinking with other 'negroes; but don't remember he was present at any time 'of the discourse about the fires, or killing the white 'people.'

*Jonneau*, *Albany* and *Bastian* were immediately apprehended and committed.

## *THURSDAY*, 14*th* MAY.

This day *Sandy*, alias *Sawney* (NIBLET's negro boy) was brought down from *Albany*, and committed to jail.

## *DEPOSITION*

*Before the Judges.*

### NUMB. III.

*MARY BURTON* deposed,

1. 'That at the times when she saw the meetings 'of the several negroes at *Hughson*'s house, as mentioned 'in the deponent's deposition of yesterday; the said *Hugh-'son* said, *they were all sworn* (meaning the negroes and all 'the white people present, as she understood) that is, '*Hughson* himself, *his wife*, and daughter *Sarah*, and *Peg-'gy*, and she understood by *Hughson*, that the purport of

† Towards the east end of the town.
‡ *Philipse*'s. ‖ *Vaarck*'s and *Auboyneau*'s.

'the oath was, *That they were not to discover the plot about firing the fort; the houses at the Fly, and the town; and about murdering the white people*: and *Hughson* said to the negroes present, which were *Cuffee*, *Cæsar* and *Prince*; *now you must take care; for you are all sworn*: and the deponent at the same time saw a bible (as she took it to be) in *Hughson*'s hand; and when the deponent came into the room, he laid it upon the table: and then *Cæsar* spoke to the deponent, and cautioned her not to tell; and *Hughson* made answer, that she dared not: and *Cuffee* said, *D—n his blood, if he would tell of any, if the town burnt*; and so said the other two negroes; and so said *Hughson*, *his wife*, their daughter *Sarah*, and *Peggy*.

2. 'That *Hughson* asked *Cæsar*, if he could get any others (meaning the negroes) to help them? *Cæsar* answered he could get enough, *who dared not but go if he spoke*.

3. 'That she saw *Cæsar* pay *Hughson* twelve pounds, in eight shilling *Spanish* pieces, as *Hughson* said, after counting them; which was paid him, in order to buy guns; and that *Hughson* afterwards went abroad with his boat, and was absent three days, or thereabouts, and brought back with him seven or eight guns, three pistols, and four swords; which were hid away under the boards in the garret floor in *Hughson*'s house.'

## *EXAMINATION,*
*Before the Judges.*

### NUMB. II.

*MARGARET SALINGBURGH*, alias *KERRY*, saith,

1. 'That about a fortnight after she came to lodge at *Hughson*'s house (she believes it was about the beginning of *February*) *John Romme* came there, when *Hughson* was gone into the woods to cut fire-wood; but *Hughson*'s wife being at home, *Romme* entered into conversation with her, when the examinant was present; and she heard him say to her (after calling for a mug of punch, and after observing how hard the winter was) that he did not know how it was with them; and though he had money enough himself, yet he could not buy wood for it; but that he had a parcel of *good children* (meaning the negroes, as she understood) who brought him wood

'al-

'almost every night, on work to that purpose; so that he 'had done well enough hitherto. And the deponent said, 'that the reason why she understood the said *Romme* to mean 'the negroes by the words, *good children*, was, because she 'herself several times saw *Cæsar* (Mr. *Philipse's*) and *Cæ-* 'sar (*Van Cortlandt's*), and sometimes *Cæsar's* brother, and 'the white boy called *Tenbroe* * bring wood there at 'nights: that *Hughson's wife* answered, that it was poor 'enough with them; that he (*Romme*) was a gentleman, 'and could live without work: to which *Romme* said, that 'if *Hughson* would join with him, and take a quantity of 'fifty or sixty firkins of butter in; meaning, as the deponent 'understood, into *Hughson's* house, to conceal them; for '*Romme* said, it was too hard for him to conceal such a 'quantity; but that *Hughson* in his large house, might much 'easier make away with them, and conceal them: to 'which *Hughson's wife* said, *She did not know; but she 'believed her husband would not have any hand in it:* Oh! 'says *Romme*, I want to talk to him my self; for that he 'knew how circumstances were with them: by and by to- 'wards the evening he would come again, and talk to him; 'for that he wanted a load of wood.

2. 'That she was afterwards informed by *Hughson* him- 'self, that *Romme* was returning to *Hughson's* house in the 'evening, and met *Hughson* with a sleigh load of wood in 'the street, which *Hughson* carried down to *Romme's* house.

3. 'That at the time of *Romme's* discoursing with *Hugh-* 'son's wife about receiving butter as aforesaid, he further 'said, that as to butter, the weather was so hard, and 'the ground so frozen, that he did not know how to hide 'them away; and as no vessels could go out, he could not 'ship them off; and he believed gammons would do better; 'that his brother was going to *Carolina*; and that he could 'stow them in his cabin, when there could not be room 'to stow there fifty or sixty firkins of butter. And by the 'discourse, the deponent understood, that *Romme* propos- 'ed to get the butter and gammons both from the weigh- 'house, or some of the storehouses thereabouts.

4. 'That she has at several times seen goods of several 'kinds brought to *Romme's* house, that she suspected to 'have been stolen: And that after the oath of secrecy taken 'by the deponent, and mentioned in a former examination, 'the said *Romme* would talk freely to her about such stolen

* *Christopher Wilson.*

goods

goods as she happened to be brought to his house; that Rumm's wife used to help receive such stolen goods, but used to conceal them away."

From what had hitherto come to light concerning this mystery of iniquity, it was scarce to be doubted, but Peggy had it in her power to unfold a great deal more of it, if she lodged at *Hughson's*; which from the course of the other evidence, was the principal place the conspirators resorted to for holding their consultations: And though what *Peggy* had already disclosed seemed to merit some favour, yet it was not altogether satisfactory; and 'twas thought proper she should be arraigned upon the indictment for the conspiracy, upon the supposition that this step might probably be a means of bringing her to a resolution of making a full discovery of what she knew.

## Supreme Court.

### *FRIDAY*, 15*th* MAY.

### PRESENT,

*The Second and Third Justices.*

### The KING,

*against*

### Margaret Kerry, *and others.*

THE prisoner *Kerry* being brought to the bar and arraigned on an indictment for a conspiracy, &c. pleaded *not guilty*.

*Ordered*, that her trial, together with *Hughson*, and *his wife*, be on wednesday next.

NOTE, this was the same indictment upon which *Hughson* and *his wife* were arraigned the twelfth instant.

Court adjourned till tuesday next the 19th instant ten o'clock in the morning.

### *SATURDAY*, 16*th* MAY.

The examination of *Sarah Hughson* the daughter, was deferred thus long, in expectation that *Arthur Price* might succeed further in drawing more secrets concerning the conspiracy from her, as he had before done from *Peggy*, and the negro *Cuffee*; but *Price* being often sent for, it was apprehended, they began to suspect him: For after *Quack* (ROOSEVELT's)

wa

was brought to goal, none of the three before-mentioned would hold any discourse with him. And this being understood to be the case, *Sarah* was sent for, and interrogated upon the matter of the conspiracy in general; and particularly as to what passed between her and *Arthur Price*, as set forth in his deposition of the 7th instant; but she positively denied that she knew any thing of the conspiracy; though part of the conversation she confessed, as followeth.

## EXAMINATION

*Before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. I.

SARAH HUGHSON, single-woman, *acknowledges* 'she 'had some discourse with *Arthur Price* soon after she 'came into goal. That she talked to him about some con-'versation passed between her and a fortune-teller, who 'said to her, that her father would escape narrowly with 'his life, if he did escape at all; and that if he did escape, 'he would go over the water.

*Owns* 'that *Price* said to her, that if she knew any thing 'about the fires, that she had better tell it: To which she 'answered, if she knew any thing she would tell the truth.'

As soon as this examination was taken, *Arthur Price* was sent for to confront with her; and he told all that had passed between him and *Sarah*, agreeable almost word for word with his deposition of the 7th instant: most of which she had denied very positively before he was brought into the room; and after all when *Price* vouched the things to her face, she did but faintly contradict what he said: And it being proposed to her to ask him any questions; she answered, she had no questions to ask him; but at length denied in gross all that *Price* had charged upon her, which any ways related to the fires. The high-sheriff being present, he perused *Price*'s deposition whilst he was telling his story before *Sarah*; and he declared, *Price* had repeated the substance very exactly, and almost word for word.

## DEPOSITION

*Before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. IV.

ARTHUR PRICE, being duly sworn, *saith*, 1. 'That 'Cuffee (PHILIPSE's negro) told him, that he knew 'he was to suffer death, and wondered why they did not

bring

'bring him to his trial; for he was sure he was to go the 'way the other two went.

2. 'That after *Quack* (mentioned in this deponent's 'examination of the 12th instant) was committed, *Caffer* 'never mentioned any thing concerning the former discourse, 'but read sometimes, and cried much.'

*MONDAY*, 18th MAY.

A few days ago *John Romme* was stopt and secured by a magistrate at *Brunswick*, in *New-Jersey*; which he very prudently did, and notified to a magistrate of this city: Whereupon *Romme* was sent for, and this day committed to our jail.

*Romme*, upon examination, also confessed, as his wife had done before, that some firkins of butter had been brought by negroes to his house: and he was even with his wife, saying, *they were received by her, that he had no hand in it*: And he also positively denied, that he knew any thing of the plot; and that any such discourse had passed at his house; as before declared by *Peggy* in her examination. He was remanded, and examined several times afterwards; but not a word would he own about the conspiracy.

Then *Romme*'s wife was sent for down again to be further examined; but nothing more could be got out of her. But in the course of her examination some hints having dropt, that her husband had acknowledged the negroes brought the butter to their house, but that he knew nothing of it, and said, *'twas received by her*; she being remanded to her prison, and going by her husband's apartment, and he putting his head out of the wicket, she *civilly saluted him* with a smart slap on the chops.

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY*, 19th MAY.

PRESENT,

*The third Justice.*

The court opened and adjourned till thursday morning ten o'clock.

*WEDNESDAY*, 20th MAY.

*EXAMINATION*

*Before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. III.

*MARGARET SALINGBURGH* saith, 1. 'That as to 'the butter brought by the negroes to *Romme*'s house,

* Meaning *Cæsar* and *Prince* hanged, as may be supposed.

'as mentioned in one of her former examinations; that '*Cæsar* was one of the negroes that brought the butter, as '*Romme* informed her himself; and that about a week be'fore, she herself heard *Romme* making a bargain with *Cæsar*, 'to give him as much butter as he could, and he would give 'him *fifteen shillings* a firkin for it; but *Cæsar* insisted on 'twenty.

2. 'That the next day she asking *Romme*, who those 'negroes were that brought the butter in the night before? 'and he answered, *Cæsar*; but she other he did not know; 'for that it was dark, and he did not dare to light a can'dle for fear of being discovered.

3. 'That *Romme* said, he lay a-bed, and that his wife 'was up and saw the butter put in the yard; and that af'ter the negroes were gone, he himself got up and stow'ed it away under the wood in an old house in the yard.

4. 'That *Cæsar* told *Romme* in her presence, *That they had got the butter from a Frenchman's near the Long-bridge*; 'and that he thought it belonged to a countryman, who 'had left it in the said Frenchman's storehouse till it could 'be sold, or shipp'd off in the spring. Or words to that 'effect.

5. 'That the cloth coat *Romme* has now upon his back 'with a cape to it, was stolen by *Cæsar* from a country'man's boat near *Hubbson's*, as she heard *Cæsar* tell *Romme*; 'and heard both *Romme* and *Cæsar* say, that *Romme* gave '*Cæsar* ten shillings for it.

6. 'That *Cæsar* and *Prince* had stolen twenty pieces of 'eight out of *Ellis's* boat; and a speckled new shirt and a 'pair of new stockings; which were brought by them di'rectly to *Romme's* house; and the money they delivered 'into *Romme's* hands; and they told *Romme*, in her hearing, 'where they had got it; and two pieces of eight a-piece they 'gave to *Romme*, and the rest they were to leave in his hands 'to drink out."

For the greater solemnity of the matter, *Peggy* also swore to and signed her three several examinations.

This history of *Peggy's* contained in her three examinations, corresponds so exactly as to the persons of, and charge against, such negroes (mentioned by others) which she brings in question; and also with the matter and circumstances of the conspiracy, which the reader may hereafter perceive from the whole current of depositions and examinations of whites and blacks; that one may be apt to conclude, she only shifted the scene and laid it in a wrong place.

*Peggy*

*Peggy* very well knew that *Romme* had fled the country upon the enquiry about the robbery at *Hogg's*; and probably that, finding her own life in jeopardy concerning that felony, as well as the conspiracy, which she now was liable had got air, and was like to be detected; and partly by her own frank talk and openness with her fellow-prisoner *Price*; she therefore might think it high time to provide for her own safety, if she could do it so cheap as by amusing us with a narrative of the plot; which, though real and true in other respects, nevertheless she charged the confederacy and consultations about it to have been held solely at *Romme's*, as to the knowledge she had concerning it; and so screen'd the other confederates, *Hughsons, his wife and family*, at whose house principally these miscreants associated; though what she declared might be true as to both places, and there seems to be too much reason to mistrust it was so; yet she absolutely denied to the last, that she had ever heard any such discourse at *Hughsons's*, though frequently interrogated very strictly to that purpose, and admonished in the most solemn manner to declare the whole truth, if she intended to do herself any service, or induce the judges to recommend her as an object deserving of mercy.

However, though there was little reason to think that *Peggy* had told all that she knew of the matter; yet that what she had said was, in the main, true, there seemed no doubt, as said before, from the correspondence between her story and that of the other evidences, so far as they had discovered with relation to the conspiracy; the only question was, whether it was carried on at *Romme's*, as well as *Hughsons's*? From her lodging and intimacy with the *Hughsons*, she might be inclined to favour them, and lay the scene at *Romme's* only, who was then thought to be out of reach; and so make a merit of a fallacious sort of discovery. But we had great hopes, that if she should be convicted upon the indictment for the conspiracy, she would come to a resolution to make an ingenuous confession in order to save herself: And with this expectation, and considering what she had confessed already, the judges were induced to recommend her to the lieutenant governor for a pardon, on this condition nevertheless, that it should not pass the seal till she should be thought amply to have merited it.

And a pardon was accordingly prepared for her, ready to pass the seal when it should be sent for by the judges.

Supreme

Supreme Court.

THURSDAY, 21st May.

PRESENT,

*The second and third Justices.*

Court opened and adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

Supreme Court.

FRIDAY, 22d May, A. M.

PRESENT,

*The second Justice.*

Court opened and adjourned till four o'clock in the afternoon.

P. M.

PRESENT, *As before.*

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

THE grand jury having been informed that *Sawney*, NIBLET's negro boy, was brought to town and committed upon suspicion of being a confederate in the conspiracy, they requested the court that he might be brought before them; which being accordingly done; upon interrogation *Sawney* denied he knew any thing of the fires, or any conspiracy concerning them. The grand jury for a long time argued with him, to persuade him to speak the truth; being convinced from the evidence of Mrs. *Carpenter*'s Negro *, who already had been examined by them, that he could give some account of the fires: They told him, if he would speak the truth, the governor would pardon him, though he had been concerned in them; and this was the time for him to save his life by making a free and ingenuous confession; or in words to this purpose. He answered, *that the time before* †, *after that the negroes told all they knew, then the white people hanged them.* The grand jury assured him, *that it was false*; for that the negroes which confessed the truth and made a discovery, were certainly pardoned, and shipped

* A young negro man not accused of the conspiracy.

† Hinting at the conspiracy in 1712, before noted on *Peggy*'s examination and confession, NUMB. I. 9th *May*.

off: [which was the truth] and upon this assurance he began to open, and gave the following evidence.

*Examination of* Sawney, (Mr. Roosevelt's negro) before the grand jury.

NUMB. I.

*He said,*

1. 'THAT about three weeks *before the fire at the fort*, 'Quack (Mr. ROOSEVELT's negro) asked him 'to assist him to set the fort on fire; and that he answered, 'no, he would not run the risque of being hanged; but that he might go to h--ll and be d--d.

2. 'That he heard the said *Quack* and Mr. PHILIPSE's 'Cuffee say, they would set fire to Mr. *Philipse*'s store-'house.

3. 'That *Cuffee* said, d--mn him, that hang him, or 'burn him, he would set fire to the town.

4. 'That *William* (capt. LUSH's Spanish negro) told him, 'that if they did not send him over to his own country, he 'would ruin the city.

4. That *Curacoa Dick* said, he would set fire to Mr. *Van* 'Zant's storehouse; and that he was to be a captain.

6. 'That *Juan* (capt. SARLY's negro) said, he would 'set fire or help to set fire to *Hilton*'s house; and was to be 'captain of the Fly company.

7. 'That *Francis* (capt. BOCH's negro) threw fire into 'Mr. *Banker*'s yard, and told him so.

8. 'That *Anthony* (Mr. PETER DE LANCEY's negro 'Spaniard) said, he would burn his master's house.

9. 'That *Auguſtine* (M'' MULLEN's Spaniſh negro) 'ſaid, he would burn his maſter's houſe; and was to have 'been an officer.

10. 'That *Jack* and *an old man* * (GERARDUS COU-'FORT's) ſaid, that they would ſet fire to their maſter's houſe 'and aſſiſt in their deſigns.

11. 'That *Cuffee* (GOMEZ's) ſaid, he would burn his 'maſter's houſe; and was to have been *an officer in the* 'company; ſaid ſo to a country fellow, and he heard him.

12. 'That juſt by *Coentjes* market he heard *Patrick* (EN-'GLISH's negro) and *Cato* (COL. MOORE's ſay, they would 'ſet fire to their maſter's houſe.

13. 'That *Fortune* (WILKINS's) was to ſet fire to his 'maſter's houſe.

* *Cook.*

14. 'Swan

14. *Sawney* being aſked, what the negroes propoſed by riſing and doing all this miſchief? He anſwered, 'That their deſign was *to kill all the gentlemen, and take their wives*; and that *Quack* *, and *Cuffee* (PHILIPSE's) were particular perſons that talked ſo.

15. 'That while he was in jail, *Francis* (capt. BOSH's) ſaid, he would kill him if he told any thing; and that when Mr. *Mills* came for him, † ſeveral negroes winked as he came out.

16. Being aſked if *Quack* (Mr. WALTERS's negro) was knowing or concerned in the affair? He anſwered, no, *though he was always curſing the white people.*

17. Being aſked, if he had much acquaintance with *Danny*, the governor's negro, and if he knew any thing? He anſwered, 'he had very little; and believed he did not.

18. 'That *Caſar* (VAARCK's) that was hanged, was concerned, and was to have been captain of the *Long-bridge company* ‡.

19. 'That about a fortnight before the fire at the fort, at *Comfort's* houſe, he overheard *Jack* and the *old man* (*Cook*) in company with four other negroes he did not know, talk about the riſing of the negroes; and *Jack* ſaid, that there was not enough of them, and he would ſtay longer; or to that purpoſe.'

*Fortune* (WILKINS's negro) was apprehended, examined and committed.

* *Rooſevelt's.* † To bring him down to be examined.

‡ It ſeems that the conſpirators had divided the city, as it were, into two diſtricts; and the confederates in each were diſtinguiſhed by the denominations of the *Fly-boys*, and the *Long-bridge boys*; being remarkable places, the one towards the eaſt, and the other towards the weſt end of the town. ——This may be drawn from *Cuffee's* confeſſion to *Arthur Pile*, ſet forth in his depoſition, 12th *May*. NUMB. III. § 6. And in theſe diſtricts, it ſhould ſeem, were ſeveral companies; for ſeveral of the officers were appointed, captains, and others; as appears not only by this, but ſeveral other examinations, as well as depoſitions; and this ſeems to ſtrengthen the evidence given by *Peggy* in her examination, that the conſpirators held their cabals at *Romme's* as well as *Hughſon's*; the former being more convenient for the *Long-bridge boys*, as *Hughſon's* for the *Smith's-Fly boys*, for the muſtering the companies, with regard to the reſpective diſtances from their homes. And if *Peggy* told the truth as to *Romme's*; theſe were the two LODGES in the two diſtricts (as may be concluded from the courſe of the evidence) where the conſpirators met; though the ringleaders, or heads of the negroes, ſuch as *Caſar* (VAARCK's) *Prince* (ANDRIESSEN's) and *Cuffee* (PHILIPSE's) might reſort to both places, for tranſacting theſe deeds of darkneſs and inhumanity, in combination with the moſt flagitious, degenerated, and abandoned, the ſcum and dregs of the white people, and others of worſe hearts if poſſible, becauſe of abler heads, who intitled themſelves to be ten times more the children of BELIAL, than the negroes themſelves.

*The examination of* Fortune, *Negro of* John Wedrell: *Before the grand jury.*

Numb. I.

*He said,*

1. 'THAT *Quack*, the negro of *John Roosevelt*, about a week or ten days before the fort was burnt, desired him the examinant, to take a walk with him (being sunday afternoon) and that he went with him into the common; where *Quack* left him a little while, and went down into the swamp, near the powder house, where he gathered something, and soon returned to him again.

2. 'That when *Quack* came back, the examinant asked him what he had got? To which *Quack* replied, he would not tell him; but asked him the examinant to go with him to the fort, and he would give him some punch, and see his wife: That accordingly they went to the fort: though the examinant says, that he did not go very willingly.

3. 'That when they came to the fort, *Quack* carried him into the kitchen, where he kept him till it began to grow dark; and then the examinant told *Quack*, that he must be going; for that the watch would take him up: To which *Quack* answered, that there was no danger of that.

4. 'That *Quack* gave him no punch, but asked him to drink a dram; which the examinant refused; and so both came from the fort, keeping company till they came by the house of captain *Pearse*, where they parted; the examinant returning home through Beaver-street, and *Quack* (as the examinant believed) went back to the fort.

5. 'That what is above recited was all that passed between them at their first meeting, on sunday afternoon, but that two or three days after, *Quack* met him at the pump near the great Slip, but nothing was said, or passed between them remarkable.

6. 'That about three days after that, he met with *Quack* again, near the house of Mrs. *Carpenter*, at which place, he (*Quack*) asked him, why he was in such haste, when he was last at the fort? To which the examinant answered as before, that he was afraid of the watch: To which *Quack* replied again, that there was no fear of that; and invited him to come to see him again at the fort; but the examinant refused, saying that he had promised him punch before, and gave him none.

7. That

7. 'That about two days before the fort was burnt, he met with *Quack* again, near the house of *Mrs. Ricketts*, where he told the examinant, *That in a few days there would be great alterations in the fort*: On which the examinant asked him, what alterations? To which *Quack* answered, *That the fort would be burnt*: The examinant on that, asked him, who would do it? *Quack* replied, you may ask *Niblet*'s negro, and he will tell you. That he did ask *Niblet*'s negro, who was to burn the fort? To which he answered, *Quack, himself*, and *Cuffee* (GOULD'S) they would do it.

8. 'That next day after the fire, the examinant met *Sandy* (NIBLET'S) who said to him, *We have done the business*; and the same day he met *Quack*, who likewise said to him, *The business is done*: That when *Quack* told him, *that the business was done*, he asked him, *what business?* To which *Quack* answered, *The fort is burnt; don't you remember that I told you, there would be great alterations in the fort?* And that he told him at the same time, that he (*Quack*) NIBLET'S *Sandy*, and GOULD'S *Cuffee* had done it.

9. Being further interrogated, whether he knew of any other negroes concerned in burning the fort, besides those above named? he answered, 'That he knew not of any but *Sandy, Quack*, and *Cuffee*.

10. Being further asked, if he knew any person concerned in setting fire to any of the houses in the town? he answered, 'no.'

*Jamaica* (ELLIS'S negro, a fidler) apprehended and committed.

Supreme Court.

*SATURDAY*, 23*d* MAY.

PRESENT,

*The second Justice.*

Court opened and adjourned till Monday morning ten o'clock.

*Examination of* Fortune, (WILKINS'S)

*Before the grand jury.*

NUMB. II.

MEMORANDUM, The examination foregoing was read over distinctly to the negro *Fortune*, who acknowledged it to be agreeable to the evidence which he gave yesterday.

1. 'THE examination being continued, the examinant
'was asked (since he had time to recollect) whe-
'ther he did not remember some others concerned in the
'late fires, besides *Quack*, *Sandy*, and *Cuffee* *; If he did,
'it was expected he should name them, without any regard
'to persons, be they white men or negroes: he answered in
'the negative; only that *Sandy* told him a day or two before
'his master sent him to prison, that his master was going to
'send him to *Albany*: on which the examinant asked him,
'for what? To which *Sandy* replied, I set fire to the house
'three times, *but my master discovered, and extinguished it;*
'*and therefore is resolved to send me away.*

2. 'That on sunday, the day before the storehouse of
'Mr. *Philipse*'s was set on fire in New-street, being sent to-
'wards the evening by his master, on an errand to their ap-
'prentice boy, who lived in the Broad-way, he went by
'way of New-street, where he saw *Cuffee* (Mr. PHILIPSE's
'negro man) and spoke with him, who said, that he was go-
'ing to one of his master's storehouses; on which they part-
'ed; and he went to the Broad-way, and tarried there till
'it was duskish: that he returned the same way; and as he
'came by the house of Capt. *Phœnix*, at the corner of New-
'street, he saw *Cuffee*, and two negroes more at some small
'distance from him, but being dark, who they were knew
'not.

3. 'That he spoke with *Cuffee*, and asked him, what he
'did there so late? To which *Cuffee* made answer, that he
'waited there for his master, who wanted something out of
'the storehouse; and that he was to come and bring the key
'with him; on which they parted: But he believes one of
'the two negroes was a *Spaniard*, because when he left
'*Cuffee*, he heard one of them call to him, *Venez a qui*
'*Seignior.*

4. 'The question being asked the examinant, whether
'he was acquainted with *Hughson* or *his family?* He an-
'swered, that he had been frequently asked by *Cæsar*, *Prince*
'and *Cuffee* (PHILIPSE's) to go there, but never did go; but
'was told *that they had a dance there every other night.*

5. 'Being asked if he ever went to *Romme*'s house, or
'knew what negroes frequently resorted thither? He an-
'swered, that he never went there himself, nor was he ac-
'quainted with those that did.'

* *Gomez*'s.

SUNDAY,

*SUNDAY, 24th* MAY.

This evening *Will*, or *Gill* (LUSH's) and *Cuffee* (GOMEZ's) negroes were committed.

Supreme Court.

*MONDAY, 25th* MAY.

PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

Court opened and adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

*Examination of* Sawney, *or* Sandy,

*Before the grand jury.*

NUMB. II.

*He ſaid,*

1. 'THAT going by *Comfort*'s houſe one ſunday even-'ing, about a month before the fort was ſet on fire, *Jack* called him in, where were about twenty negroes, of which he only knew the ſaid *Jack* and the *old man* (COMFORT'S negroes) *Fortune* (VANDERSPIEGLE'S) *Cæſar* (PECK'S) *Cato* (COWLEY'S) *Sarah*, BURK'S negro wench, and the only negro woman there.

2. 'That upon his coming into the room, they gave him drink, and then aſked him to burn houſes; and he not giving a ready anſwer, *Sarah* ſwore at him, and the negroes did alſo; and with knives in their hands, that they frightened him, and he was afraid they would kill him; and upon it, he promiſed he would, and would burn the Slip-market; and ſoon after he went home.

3. 'That he ſaw in his maſter's yard, Mr. *Machado*'s negro wench called *Diana*, put fire in the ſhingles of Mr. *Machado*'s houſe; and on his telling of it, and ſaying that it might be laid on him, ſhe gave him four ſhillings to hold his tongue.

4. 'That *Sarah* and *Fortune* (Vanderſpeigle's) were to have ſet fire to the Meal market.

5. 'That at their meeting at COMFORT'S houſe, they ſwore to be true to one another, on the oath, *that God Almighty would ſtrike them dead with the firſt thunder.*

6. That being aſked, if he uſed *Hughſon*'s and *Romme*'s houſes with the other negroes? he ſaid, 'he never was at ei-

'ther of their houſes.' And who told him of what he had related? he anſwered, 'that *Jack* did, and of the Spaniſh 'negroes who were concerned.' Alſo, that if he did aſſiſt in ſetting the fort on fire? he anſwered, 'no; only before 'it, *Quack* did aſk him to help him, and he gave the anſwer 'beforementioned; and that then *Quack* ſaid, *he* would do it.

7. 'That *Diana* (Mr. MACHADO's negro) in a paſſion, 'becauſe her miſtreſs was angry with her, *took her own young* 'child from her breaſt, and laid it in the cold, that it ſtruck 'to death.'

*Cæſar* (PECK's) *Cata* (COWLEY's) *Sarah* (BURK's) *Fortune* (VANDERSPIEGLE's) committed.

*Examination of* Sarah, (*Mrs.* BURK's *negro wench*) *Before the grand jury.*

NUMB. IV.

AFter abundance of queſtions upon *Sawney*'s evidence, ſhe ſaid, 'ſhe knew nothing of the matter; evaded 'about her being at *Comfort*'s houſe;' but on confronting *Sawney* with her, and PECK's *Cæſar*, ſhe at laſt ſaid, 'that 'Sawney had, at the pump in the neighbourhood, ſaid, ſuppoſing his maſter had been angry with him, *G——d d—n* 'all the white people; that if he had it in his power, he would 'ſet them all on fire.'

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY*, 26*th* MAY.

PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

AN ordinance publiſhed for enlarging the term to the laſt tueſday in *June* next.

Court adjourned till four o'clock in the afternoon.

*P. M.*

PRESENT,

*The ſecond Juſtice.*

The court opened and adjourned till thurſday 28th inſtant, ten o'clock in the morning.

*Jack* and *Cook* (COMFORT's negroes) apprehended and committed.

Supreme

Supreme Court.

*THURSDAY*, 28*th* MAY,

PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING,
*againſt*
Quack, ROOSEVELT's,
Cuffee, PHILIPSE's.

THESE negroes were arraigned upon two indictments, for a conſpiracy to burn the town and murder the inhabitants; and for two actual burnings, the houſe in the fort, and Mr. *Philipſe*'s ſtorehouſe; whereto they pleaded *not guilty*.

*Ordered*, Their trials be on to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

Supreme Court,

*FRIDAY*, 29*th* MAY.

PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING,
*againſt*
Quack, ROOSEVELT's, Cuffee, PHILIPSE's } Negroes.

*On trial upon two indictments.*

The priſoners brought to the bar.

JURY called and ſworn, *viz.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Samuel Weaver*, | *George Witts*, |
| *John Shurmur*, * | *Thomas Behenna*, |
| *John Laſhier*, | *Daniel Bonett*, |
| *Charles Arding*, | *John Robins*, |

THE negro *Quack* having been indicted for wickedly, voluntarily, feloniouſly and maliciouſly conſpiring,

* The pannel being miſlaid, no more of the jurors could be recollected.

combining and confederating with *Cuffee* and with divers other negroes, to kill and murder the inhabitants of this city; and also for setting on fire, burning and consuming the house of our sovereign lord the King, then standing at the fort in this city; contrary to the form of an act of assembly † in such case made and provided, and against the King's peace.

The negro *Cuffee* had been also indicted for wickedly, &c. conspiring, &c. with *Quach* and divers other negroes, to kill and murder the inhabitants of this city; and also for setting on fire and burning an out-house belonging to *Frederick Philipse*, Esq; then standing and being in this city; contrary to the form of the said act of assembly, and against the King's peace.

To which indictments each of these criminals, upon their arraignment, pleaded *not guilty*.

The attorney general having opened the indictments, spoke to the court and jury as followeth.

'*May it please your honours, and you gentlemen of the jury.*

'THIS is a cause of very great expectation; it being, as 'I conceive, a matter of the utmost importance that 'ever yet came to be tried in this province; wherefore, be-'fore I call the witnesses to prove these two negroes guilty, 'I shall briefly mention to you something concerning this 'mystery of iniquity in general, how and where it was form-'ed and carried on, and what share these two criminals 'had in it.

† By an act of assembly of this province, passed in the fourth year of his present Majesty's reign, entitled, 'An act for the more effectual preventing 'and punishing the conspiracy and insurrection of negroes and other slaves; for 'the better regulating them, and for repealing the acts therein mentioned re-'lating thereto.' It is enacted, (inter alia) That all and every negro, Indian, or other slave, or slaves, who after the publication of this act, shall murder or otherwise kill (unless by misadventure or in the execution of justice) or conspire or attempt the death of any of his Majesty's liege people, not being slaves; or shall wilfully burn any dwelling-house, barn, stable, out-house, stacks of corn or hay; and shall thereof be convicted before three or more of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the county where such fact shall be committed, one whereof to be of the quorum, who are thereby authorised to hear and determine the same, in conjunction with five of the principal freeholders of the county, without a grand jury, seven of whom agreeing, shall put their judgment in execution according to this act; or before any court of oyer and terminer, or general goal delivery; he, she or they so offending, shall suffer the pains of death, in such manner and with such circumstances as the aggravation or enormity of their crimes, in the judgment of the justices of those courts aforesaid, or as in the judgment of seven of the said justices and freeholders, shall merit and require.

*Gentle-*

'*Gentlemen*,

'Not only theſe two negroes, but divers others, and ſeveral white people, as will appear to you in the courſe of our 'evidence, have been concerned with theſe wretched offenders, in this moſt wicked and deviliſh conſpiracy.

'*Gentlemen*,

'You will hear from the mouths of our witneſſes, that 'theſe two negroes, with divers others, frequently met at 'the houſe of one *John Hughſon*, in this city:—It was there 'they were harboured:——*There* was the place of their general rendezvous; and *there* it was this helliſh conſpiracy 'was brooded, formed, conſented and agreed to:———It 'was *there* that theſe two negroes, and the reſt of the conſpirators, came to a reſolution of *burning the King's houſe* 'at the fort, *and this whole town*; *and of murdering the inhabitants* as they ſhould come to extinguiſh the flames.—— 'Crimes, *gentlemen*, ſo aſtoniſhingly cruel and deteſtable; 'that one would think they could never have entered into 'the minds, much leſs the reſolution, of any *but a conclave* 'of *devils* to execute; and yet ſuch monſters in iniquity are 'theſe two criminals and the reſt of their confederates.

'*Gentlemen*,

'It will likewiſe appear to you, by *Quack*'s own confeſſion (as we ſhall in the courſe of our evidence for the King 'upon this trial ſhew you) that, in proſecution of ſuch their 'moſt abominable conſpiracies, the King's houſe was by 'him (at the inſtigation of the reſt of the conſpirators) ſet 'on fire, burnt down, and conſumed.

'And then as to *Cuffee*, we ſhall ſhew *you*, that he is 'doubtleſs guilty of the charge againſt him.

'*Gentlemen*,

'The eyes of the inhabitants of this city and province are 'upon *you*, relying on, and confiding in *you*; that by the 'juſtice of your verdict in this cauſe this day, the peace and 'ſafety of this city and province may for the future be ſecured to them; which at preſent (until ſome examples are 'made) ſeem very precarious.

'*Gentlemen*,

'It is in *you*, the people in general, place their hopes and 'expectations of their future ſecurity and repoſe; that they 'may ſit ſecurely in their own houſes, and reſt quietly in 'their beds, no one daring to make them afraid.

'I ſhall now proceed to examine the witneſſes for the 'King, to ſupport the charge againſt each of theſe criminals;

'and

'and can make no doubt, *gentlemen*, but when you have 'heard the evidence against them, you will for your own 'sakes, your oaths sake, and for the peace, quiet, and 'security of your country, find these two negroes guilty.

Mr. *Murray* and Mr. *Smith*, of council also for the KING.

Witnesses for the KING, called and sworn,

*Mary Burton*, *Daniel Gautier*,
*Sarah Higgins*, *Isaac Gardner*,
*Jacobus Stoutenburgh*, Mr. *Hilliard*,
*Arthur Price*, *James M'Donald*.
*John Peterson*,

Negro evidence.

*Fortune* (Wilkins's), *Sandy* (Niblet's)

*Evidence against* Cuffee.

*MARY BURTON* said, 'That *Cuffee*, with *Cæsar* 'and *Prince*, the two negroes hanged, used frequently to 'meet at her master's (*Hughson*'s) house; and that he 'heard them often talk of *burning the fort, and that they* 'would go down to the Fly, and burn the whole town; and 'that her master and mistress said, they would aid and 'assist them as much as they could.

'That in their common conversation they used to say, 'that when all this was done, Cæsar *should be governor*, 'and Hughson (her master) *king*.

'That *Cuffee* used to say, that a great many people had 'too much, and others too little: that his old master had 'a great deal of money; but that in a short time, his mas- 'ster should have less and himself should have more.

'That at the meetings of the said three negroes, *Cuffee*, 'Cæsar and *Prince*, at her master's house, they used to say 'in their conversations, that when they set fire to the 'town, *they would do it in the night*; and as the white 'people came to extinguish it, *they would kill and destroy* 'them.

'That she has known at times, seven or eight guns in 'her master's house, and some swords; and has seen twen- 'ty or thirty negroes at one time there; and that at such 'large meetings the three aforesaid negroes, Cuffee, Cæsar 'and Prince, *were generally present and most active*; and us- 'ed to say, *That the other negroes durst not refuse to do what* 'they commanded them; and that they were sure they had a

'number

'number ſufficient to ſtand by them: that the negroes ſwore, 'that if ever ſhe publiſhed or diſcovered their deſign of burn-'ing the town, they would burn her whenever they met her.'

*Court.* Did the priſoner *Cuffee* ever threaten you ſo?

M. Burton. *Yes, he,* Cæſar *and* Prince, *and the reſt.*

'That about three weeks after ſhe came to *Hughſon*'s, 'which was about Midſummer laſt, the negroes were there 'talking of the plot, and ſome of them ſaid, perhaps ſhe 'would tell; and *Cuffee* ſaid, no, ſhe would not, he in-'tended to have her for a wife; and then run up to her; 'and ſhe had a diſhclout in her hand, which ſhe dabbed 'in his face, and he ran away.

'That at a meeting of the negroes at *Hughſon*'s houſe, '*Hughſon* ſaid they were all ſworn, *negroes* and *white people* 'preſent, as ſhe underſtood; that is, *Hughſon, his wife,* 'daughter *Sarah*, and *Peggy*; and that the purport of the 'oath was, *That they were not to diſcover the ſecrets about 'firing the fort, the houſes at the Fly, and the whole town; 'and about murdering the white people.* and *Hughſon* ſaid 'to the negroes preſent, which were *Cuffee, Cæſar* and 'Prince, *now you muſt take care, for you are all ſworn*; and 'at the ſame time the witneſs ſaw a bible, as ſhe took it to 'be, in *Hughſon*'s hand, and when the witneſs came into 'the room he laid it upon the table; and then *Cæſar* ſpoke 'to the witneſs and cautioned her not to tell; and *Hughſon* 'made anſwer, that ſhe dared not; and *Cuffee* ſaid, *d—n 'his bl—d, if he would tell of any, if he was burnt*; and 'ſo ſaid the other two negroes; and ſo ſaid *Hughſon, his 'wife, daughter Sarah*, and *Peggy.*

*ARTHUR PRICE* ſaid, 'That ſoon after *Cuffee*, 'the priſoner at the bar, came to goal, he had ſome diſ-'courſe with him over a bowl or tankard of punch, being 'confined in the ſame room together, and that, amongſt 'other things, *Cuffee* ſaid, that he was one of the *Geneva 'club* * *that was ſworn*, but being overcome with ſleep, 'he did not go to their meeting at that time; that *Cuffee* 'aſked the witneſs, what could be the reaſon that *Peggy* 'was called down ſo often; that the witneſs anſwered, he 'thought *Peggy* was diſcovering the plot about the fire at 'the fort. *Cuffee* replied, ſhe could not do that unleſs ſhe '*foreſwore herſelf, he knew*; for that *he that had done that 'was ſworn after ſhe was in priſon.* That he left his ma-

* See note upon *Arthur Price*'s depoſition Numb. III. before, * Tueſday 12th May.

'ſter's

'ſter's houſe in the evening and went along the wharf to
'the Fly market, and waited there till one *Quack* came out
'of his maſter's houſe; they two went then to *John Hugh-*
'*ſon*'s, where they met no body but *Hughſon*, *his wife*,
'and *daughter Sarah*; that they called for a tankard of
'punch; that *Hughſon* ſwore *Quack* three times; that they
'only drank out their punch, and then went down to the
'Fly: that the witneſs thereupon ſaid to *Cuffee*, that he be-
'lieved he knew that *Quack*, and that he lived with a but-
'cher; *Cuffee* replied, no, he does not live with a butcher,
'but he lives with a painter, who lives within a few doors
'of a butcher; which painter's name was *Rooſevelt*, to the
'beſt of the witneſs's remembrance.

—'That *Cuffee* told him, that *Quack* was married to the
'negro wench who is cook to the fort (to the governor)
'as the witneſs underſtood him.

—That *Cuffee* ſaid, 'they were all (the negroes as the
'witneſs underſtood him) to meet at *Hughſon*'s the ſame
'day after *Quack* was ſworn, but ſome came and ſome did
'not.

—'That the witneſs aſked *Cuffee*, how *Quack* did do
'it? (meaning the ſetting fire to the fort) that *Cuffee* an-
'ſwered, he could not tell how he did it; but that *Quack*
'*was to do it, and did do it.*——

—'That *Cuffee* ſaid they were to meet and have a club
'at *Hughſon*'s in the Eaſter holidays, but that the d—d con-
'ſtables hindered them.——

—'That the witneſs further aſked *Cuffee*, whether he did
'not think that the firing would be found out? and *Cuffee*
'replied, no, by G-d, he did not think it ever would.

—'That the witneſs aſked *Cuffee*, whether he was not
'afraid that the two negroes who were to be executed the
'next monday, would diſcover the fires about the fort and
'town? *Cuffee* anſwered, he was not afraid of that, for
'that *he was ſure they would be burnt to aſhes before they*
'*would diſcover it, he would lay his life on it.*

—'That afterwards, upon further diſcourſe with *Cuffee*,
'he ſaid, he wondered why they only took up the *Long-*
'*bridge boys, and not thoſe of the Smith's Fly*; for he ſaid,
'he believed, if the truth was known, *the Smith's Fly ne-*
'*groes* were as much concerned as the others.—

—'That *Cuffee* ſaid to the witneſs, he knew he was to
'ſuffer death, and wondered why they did not bring him to
'his trial; for he was ſure he was to go the way the other

'two

two went; meaning (as he underſtood him) the negroes *Cæſar* and *Prince* hanged.—

—'That after *Quack*, the other priſoner at the bar, was committed, *Cuffee* never mentioned any thing concerning the former diſcourſe to the witneſs; but read ſometimes, and cried very much.'

*SARAH HIGGINS* ſaid, 'That on ſunday afternoon, the day before colonel *Philipſe*'s ſtorehouſe was ſet on fire, ſhe ſaw four negroes lurking about the garden behind that ſtorehouſe, but ſhe knew but one of them, and him only by ſight, which was *Cuffee*, the priſoner at the bar.—

—'That in the duſk of the evening, ſhe ſaw four negroes in the ſame garden again; and they ſeemed to keep moſtly about *Kipp*'s brewhouſe, which was on the ſide of the garden oppoſite to the ſaid ſtorehouſe; they ſhuffled about as though they would hide themſelves: ſhe diſtinguiſhed *Cuffee* to be one *, that he had on a blue coat; ſhe imagined they were upon ſome ill deſign, and therefore got capt. *Phœnix*'s ſons to go along with her with ſmall arms, (ſwords ſhe meant) and they went in with her, and ſearched *Kipp*'s brewhouſe for the ſaid negroes, but did not find them.—

—'The ſaid *Cuffee* had come ſeveral times to the houſe where ſhe uſed to live, but ſhe did not know before then, who he belonged to.—

*JOHN PETERSON* ſaid, 'That when colonel *Philipſe*'s ſtorehouſe was on fire, he went to aſſiſt there, and coming up to it, he met *Cuffee* (PHILIPSE'S) coming out of the door of the ſtorehouſe, and he aſked *Cuffee*, what he did there? *Cuffee* ſwore a great oath, and ſaid, *The people were looking for negroes.* That the witneſs had a bucket of water in his hand, and gave it to *Cuffee*, and bid him hand it; and he took the bucket from the witneſs: that *Cuffee* had a blue coat on lined or faced with red, and he knew his voice very well when he anſwered him. The witneſs ſaid, he uſed to work for *Cuffee*'s maſter, and knew the negro very well.—

—'That after the fire at the ſtorehouſe was extinguiſhed, and the people were drawn away from thence by a new cry of *fire*, Mr. *Philipſe* (*Cuffee*'s maſter) and Mr. *Chambers* were ſtanding together in the garden near the ſtorehouſe; and ſomebody came up and told Mr. *Philipſe*, that they had taken *Cuffee* out of his houſe, and were

* See *Fortune*'s examination, NUM 3. H. §. 2. 23d May.

'carrying him to goal; and that it was he that had set the
'fire: Mr. *Philipse* made answer, how can that be? I left
'him at home at work making a vane for the house? Then
'he the witness standing near by and hearing that, said,
'I am sure I saw him here just now at the fire and spoke
'to him, and he answered me; and I handed him a buck-
'ket of water.

*JACOBUS STOUTENBURGH*, said, 'That he
'had known the prisoner (*Cuffee*) by sight a long time, but
'did not know who he belonged to.

'That he (the witness) went to assist at the fire at Mr.
'*Philipse*'s storehouse; and when that fire was extinguish-
'ed, he was at the top of the roof, when there was ano-
'ther alarm of fire, which drew most of the people away
'from thence; when somebody cried out, *there were ne-*
'*groes in the storehouse*; and there being a great many shin-
'gles pulled off the roof, he could see down into them,
'and he espied out *Cuffee* in the storehouse next to that on
'fire; and he was letting himself down through the hole
'in order to catch him, but he was hindered by a nail catch-
'ing hold of his breeches, or he believed he had taken
'him; that he saw him leap out of the window at the end
'of the storehouse, and so made haste away, leaping over
'several garden fences, and made his escape; that then the
'witness went back with the fire-engines towards the city-
'hall, and he heard the people say, they had got the negro;
'and then he said, if it was the same negro he should know
'him again; and there was a great crowd of people bring-
'ing him to jail; and when the witness saw him, he knew
'him to be the same, (*Cuffee*) the prisoner at the bar.

*ISAAC GARDNER* said, 'he saw *Cuffee* the pris-
'ner at the bar, at the fire at the fort; there were rows
'made of people in the garden, negroes as well as white
'men, from the water-side through the sally port, in or-
'der to hand water along to the fire; and the witness ob-
'served, that when the buckets came to *Cuffee*, instead
'of handing them along to the next man, he put them up
'on the ground, and overset them, by which means the
'ground which was at first dry and hard, became so wet,
'that the witness, who stood next him, was almost up to
'the ancles in mud; and that the witness then observed
'*Cuffee* when the flames of the house blazed up very high,
'he huzza'd, danced, whistled and sung; and that the
'witness said to him, you black dog, is this a time for you

'to

to dance and make game upon ſuch a ſad accident; and he only laughed and whiſpered to *Albany* (Mrs. *Carpenter*'s negro) who ſtood next him on the other ſide: whereupon the witneſs ſeeing colonel *Moore*, he ſaid to him he wiſhed he would ſpeak to thoſe negroes, who only laughed, and made game whenever he forbid them overſetting the water; and that colonel *Moore* did ſpeak to them; but after his back was turned, they went on again in the ſame manner, and ſo continued till they broke up from the fire.

*Evidence affecting both priſoners.*

*DANIEL GAUTIER*, carpenter, ſaid, that he was one of the firſt who went to the fort upon the alarm of the fire; when he came up towards it, he obſerved that great part of the outſide of the roof was covered with ſmoke, but none for a conſiderable diſtance from the end next the chapel; when he came upon the ramparts next the chapel, he was aſking how it came, and was told it was occaſioned by the plummer's carrying his fire-pot into the gutter, which he was mending between the houſe and the chapel (as it was a leaden gutter which the plummer had been ſoddering to ſtop a leak) and ſome ſparks of the fire had blown out of the pot and catched the ſhingles; whereupon the witneſs ſeeing a ladder ſet up againſt the gutter, he went up, and looking in at the dormant window at the end of the houſe towards the chapel, he ſaw the inſide of the garret roof in a blaze, but there was no fire within (he believes) twenty foot of the end he looked in at; wherefore he was then of opinion it could not have been occaſioned by the plummer's working there; for when the fire broke out at the top of the roof, it was, as he thought, twenty foot from the end next the gutter; and he obſerved the fire broke out in ſeveral places further; and the witneſs ſaid, that upon his firſt view of it, he gave the houſe over for loſt.

*HILLIARD* the plummer ſaid, 'That he thought the fire could not have been occaſioned by his working there; for that he was very careful of the fire he carried up, and he had a ſoldier to attend him; that his fire-pot was ſet on a board which laid over the gutter from the chapel to the houſe, but was much lower than the dormant window; that he did not think that any ſparks of fire did fly out of the fire-pot; for it was an incloſed pot like a dark lanthorn, with

'an opening only before to put his ſoddering-iron in, and
'that he was careful to place the back of it towards the
'wind: That the fire was on the other ſide of the roof,
'not near where he was at work.

Mr. *Murray* obſerved, that by an act of aſſembly of this province, as in all other his Majeſty's colonies where there are negroes, the negroes evidence is good againſt each other; and he read the particular clauſes in the act to this purpoſe, and further remarked upon the reaſonableneſs and neceſſity of this law.

[*The title of it is mentioned in the note upon the abſtract of the firſt indictment in this trial.*]

*Negro evidence affecting* Cuffee.

*FORTUNE* (WILKINS's negro) ſaid, 'that on Sunday the day before col. *Philipſe*'s ſtorehouſe in New-ſtreet 'was ſet on fire, being ſent by his maſter towards evening 'on an errand to their apprentice boy, who lived in the 'Broad-way, he went by the way of New-ſtreet, where 'he ſaw *Cuffee*, and ſpoke with him, and that he ſaid he 'was going to one of his maſter's ſtorehouſes; on which 'they parted; and the witneſs went to the Broad-way, and 'tarried there till it was duſkiſh; that he returned the ſame 'way, and as he came by the houſe of capt. *Phœnix*, at 'the corner of New-ſtreet, he ſaw *Cuffee* again, and two 'negroes more at ſome ſmall diſtance from him, but who 'they were knew not; that he ſpoke with *Cuffee*, and 'aſked him what he did there ſo late? he anſwered, he was 'ed there for his maſter, who wanted ſomething out of the 'ſtorehouſe; and that he was to come and bring the key 'with him; on which they parted again: But the witneſs 'believed one of the other two negroes was a Spaniard, 'becauſe when he left *Cuffee*, he heard one of them call 'him, *Venez a qui Seignior*.

The witneſs ſaid, 'That he had been often aſked by *Ceſar* (VAARCK's) *Prince* (AUBOYNEAU's) and *Cuffee* the 'priſoner, to go with them to *Hughſon*'s; but that he 'never did, but was told they had a dance there every other 'night.

*Negro evidence affecting* Quack *and* Cuffee.

*SANDY*, ſaid, 'That he heard *Quack* and *Cuffee* ſay, 'that they would ſet fire to Mr. *Philipſe*'s ſtorehouſe.

'That *Cuffee* ſaid, d--- n him, that hang him or burn 'him, he would ſet fire to the town.

*Evidence*

*Evidence affecting* Quack *only.*

*MARY BURTON* ſaid, 'That ſhe had often ſeen 'Quack at *Hughſon*'s door, along with *Cuffee* (PHILIPSE'S) 'Cæſar (VAARCK'S) and *Prince* (AUBOYNEAU'S) but ne-'ver ſaw him within the houſe.

*Negro evidence againſt* Quack.

*FORTUNE*, (WILKINS'S) ſaid, 'That *Quack*, about 'a week or ten days before the fort was burnt, (being on 'a ſunday afternoon) deſired the witneſs to take a walk 'with him; and that he went with him into the common; 'where *Quack* left him a little while, and went down 'into the ſwamp, near the powder houſe, where he ga-'thered ſomething, and returned to him again.

'That when he came back, the witneſs aſked him what 'he had got? He anſwered, he would not tell him; but 'then aſked the witneſs to go down with him to the fort, 'and ſaid he would give him ſome punch: That accord-'ingly the witneſs went with him to the fort; though 'he did not go very willingly.

'That when they came to the fort, *Quack* carried him 'into the kitchin, where he kept him till it began to grow 'dark; and when the witneſs told him he muſt be going, 'for that the watch would take him up: *Quack* anſwered, 'there was no danger of that.

'That *Quack* gave him no punch at the fort, but aſked 'him to drink a dram, which he refuſed; and ſo both 'came away from thence together, keeping company till 'they came to captain *Pearſe*'s houſe, where they parted; 'the witneſs returning home, and *Quack*, as the witneſs 'believed, went back to the fort.

'This was all that paſſed between the witneſs and *Quack* 'at their firſt meeting, on ſunday afternoon.

'That about three weeks after that, the witneſs met '*Quack* again, near Mrs. *Carpenter*'s, where *Quack* aſk-'ed the witneſs, why he was in ſuch haſte when he was 'laſt at the fort? To which the witneſs anſwered, that 'he was afraid of the watch: *Quack* replied, there was 'no fear of that; and invited him to come to ſee him 'again at the fort; but the witneſs refuſed, ſaying that 'he had promiſed him punch before, and gave him none.

'That about two days before the fort was burnt, he met '*Quack* again near Mrs. *Rickett*'s, where he told the wit-

'neſs, *That in a few days there would be great alterations* 'in the fort: The witneſs aſked him, what alterations? 'To which *Quack* replied, *That the fort would be burnt*: 'The witneſs aſked him, who would do it? *Quack* replied, 'you may aſk *Niblet*'s negro, and he will tell you. That 'the witneſs did aſk *Niblet*'s negro, who was to burn the 'fort? To which he anſwered, *Quack, himſelf* (*Sandy*,) 'and GOMEZ's *Cuffee*, they would do it.

'That the next day after the fire at the fort, the witneſs 'met *Sandy* (NIBLET's negro) who ſaid to him, *We have* 'done the buſineſs; and the ſame day the witneſs met *Quack*, 'who likewiſe ſaid to him, *The buſineſs is done*: Thereupon the witneſs aſked him, *What buſineſs?* *Quack* replied, 'The fort is burnt; don't you remember that I told you there 'would be great alterations in the fort? And *Quack* told 'him at the ſame time, that *he himſelf*, NIBLET's *Sandy*, 'and GOMEZ's *Cuffee* had done it.

*SANDY*, alias *Sawney* (NIBLET's negro) ſaid, that 'about three weeks before the fire at the fort, *Quack* aſked him, *to ſet the fort on fire*; and he the witneſs anſwered, no, he would not run the riſque of being hanged; 'but that he might go to h---ll and be d---d: That then 'Quack ſaid, he would do it himſelf.

*Againſt* Quack *and* Cuffee.

*Sandy* ſaid, 'That they two particularly talked of *killing the gentlemen, and taking their wives* to themſelves; 'that he heard *Quack* ſay, ſince he came to jail, *that he burnt the fort*.

Witneſſes called at the requeſt of the priſoners.

*Jacob Burſen*,
*Peter Jay*,
*Lewis Parent*,
*Gerardus Beekman*,
Mr. *Niblet*,
Capt. *Rowe*,
*John Rooſevelt, and his ſon*,
*Catherine Wells*,
*Adolph Philipſe, Eſq*;

*ADOLPH PHILIPSE*, Eſq; (*Cuffee*'s maſter) ſaid, that all he could declare about him was, 'That the afternoon his nephew's (col. *Philipſe*'s) ſtorehouſe was on 'fire, he had left him at home not long before the alarm of 'the fire, at work, ſewing a vane upon a board for his 'boat; that as to his character he could ſay nothing.

*Quack*'s maſter (Mr. ROOSEVELT) and his ſon both declared, 'That *Quack* was employed moſt part of that morning the fort was fired, from the time they got up, in cutting away the ice out of the yard; that he was hardly ever out of their ſight all that morning, but a ſmall time while they were at breakfaſt; and that they could not think he could that morning have been from their houſe ſo far as the fort.

*JAMES M'DONALD* being called and ſworn for the KING, ſaid,

'That the day the fort was fired, he ſtood ſentry at the gate about eleven o'clock in the morning, a little before or after, and that *Quack* came up to the gate and offered to come in; the witneſs ſaid, he knew that the governor had ſome time before forbid him coming to the fort, and therefore he ſcrupled to let him in; *Quack* anſwered, that he was free now and had liberty to come; and ſo he let him paſs.

'That not long before that, the witneſs was poſted one night at the ſame gate, and *Quack* (the priſoner) came up in order to go to the governor's houſe; and the witneſs knew that the governor had before then lately forbid him coming there; and therefore oppoſed his entrance within the gate; but *Quack* was reſolute, and puſhed forward whether he would or no, and ſaid he would go in: The witneſs then bid him take what followed, and clubbed his firelock and knocked him down: That then *Quack* got up again and collar'd the witneſs, and cried out *murder*; and the witneſs was going to ſtrike him again, and the officer of the guard hearing a buſtle, called to the witneſs, and forbid him ſtriking him any more; and *Quack* then run in a-doors into the governor's kitchin; and they went and fetched him, and turned him out of the fort.

CAPT. *ROWE* and *BEEKMAN* ſaid, '*Quack* was employed laſt year to work at the new battery, and that he minded his buſineſs very well."

The other witneſſes called at the requeſt of the priſoners, ſd nothing more material.

The priſoners being aſked, what they had to offer in their fence; they offered nothing but peremptory denials what had been teſtified againſt them, and proteſtations of ir innocency.

Mr. *Smith* then proceeded to ſum up and remark upon the evidence, and ſpoke as followeth.

'*May it pleaſe your honours, and you gentlemen of the jury*

'THE part aſſigned to me on this trial, is to ſum the evidence which you have heard: And in general it may be obſerved, that a moſt hortid conſpiracy has been formed, *to burn this city, and to deſtroy the people.*

'That great numbers of perſons have been concerned in the plot; ſome *whites* and many *blacks*. That the place of their general rendezvous was the houſe of *Hughſon*. That there thirty negroes have met at a time. That their meetings were chiefly on ſundays. That *Hughſon*, as the captain of this HELLISH BAND, had himſelf and others into this dark confederacy. That the arms and ammunition were provided by *Hughſon* for the purpoſe. And that the night ſeaſon was agreed on for the putting it in execution.

'*Gentlemen*,

'No ſcheme more monſtrous could have been invented, nor can any thing be thought of more fooliſh, than the motives that induced theſe wretches to enter into it. What more ridiculous, than that *Hughſon*, in conſequence of this ſcheme, ſhould become a *King! Cæſar* (now in gibbets) a *governor!* That the white men ſhould be all killed, and the women become a prey to the rapacious luſt of theſe villains! That theſe ſlaves ſhould thereby eſtabliſh themſelves in peace and freedom in the plunder'd wealth of their ſlaughter'd maſters! 'Tis hard to ſay whether the *wickedneſs* or *the folly* of this deſign is the greater. Altho' had it not been in part executed before it was diſcovered, we ſhould with great difficulty have been perſuaded to believe it poſſible, that ſuch a *wicked* and *fooliſh plot* could be contrived by any creatures in human ſhape.

'Yet, *gentlemen*, INCREDIBLE as ſuch a plot would have ſeemed to have been, the event has in part proved it to be REAL. Whence elſe could ſo many fires have been lighted up all around you in ſo ſhort a time, with evident marks of wilful deſign? A deſign that could not be executed but by ſeveral hands.

'Now, *gentlemen*, the priſoners at the bar ſtand charged with being principal parties in this TRAGICAL DESIGN,

and two of the prime incendiaries: *Quack* for *burning his Majeſty's houſe in the fort*, and *Cuffee* for *burning col.* Philipſe's *ſtorehouſe*.

Afterwards Mr. *Smith* proceeded to obſerve on the ſeveral parts of the evidence againſt each of the priſoners; particularly to ſhew, that *Cuffee* was one of the firſt of the negroes that were ſworn into the plot to *burn* and *murder*; that he appeared one of the moſt forward and active in promoting it; that Mr. *Philipſe*'s ſtorehouſe by diverſe circumſtances appeared to have been wilfully ſet on fire; that the priſoner declared that he would burn that ſtorehouſe; that he was ſeen there before the fire broke out, in a ſuſpicious appearance, and was preſent at the time of it; and at the cry of ſome perſon, that negroes were in the ſtorehouſe, the priſoner jumped out of a window, leaped over two fences and ran away, *&c.* that he ſeemed exceedingly well pleaſed with the fire at the fort; overſet the buckets that were filled with water, and did what he could to prevent the extinguiſhing of that fire, *&c.* And then inferred from the facts proved, and circumſtances attending them, that there appeared *violent preſumption* of guilt, which the law eſteems full proof.

As to *Quack* he obſerved, that the witneſſes proved that *Quack* was ſworn into the conſpiracy, and particularly that he had agreed to burn the fort; that he repeatedly ſaid he would do it; that the fire where it broke out could not eaſily be accounted for from any accidental cauſe; that the priſoner had confeſſed the crime both before he was apprehended and ſince he had been in jail: all which amount to full proof.

The particular remarks on the teſtimony of the witneſſes to the ſeveral points before mentioned, are here omitted for the ſake of brevity, and becauſe the ſubſtance of the evidence is before related.

Then concluded,

'Thus, *gentlemen*, I have diſtinguiſhed the ſeveral points 'of the evidence againſt the priſoners, and have repeated 'the ſubſtance of what each witneſs has ſaid to each point, 'and ſhall leave it to you to determine whether the pri'ſoners are guilty or not. I have endeavoured to lay no 'more weight upon any part of the evidence, than it will 'well bear; and I hope I have not urged any conſequence 'which the fact proved will not fairly warrant.

'*Gentlemen*, The priſoners have been indulged with
'ſame kind of trial as is due to *freemen*, though they
'have been proceeded againſt in a more ſummary and
'favourable way. The negro evidence, in the manner
'which it has been produced, is warranted by the act
'aſſembly that has been read to you: The law requires
'oath to be adminiſtered to them; and indeed it would
'ſeem to be a profanation of it, to adminiſter it to a
'then in the legal form. You have ſeen that the court
'put them under the moſt ſolemn caution, that their
'knowledge of religion can render them capable of.
'The being and perfections of an ALMIGHTY, ALL-KNOW-
'ING and JUST GOD, and the terrors of an eternal world
'have been plainly laid before them, and ſtrongly pre-
'upon them. Unleſs they were profeſſed Chriſtians, and
'had taken upon them the bonds and obligations of the
'religion, *their word* with the *cautions* that have been uſed,
'I ſuppoſe will be thought by you, as ſatisfactory as any
'oath that could have been deviſed. But, *gentlemen*, the
'court has no power to adminiſter an oath but in the com-
'mon form: and if pagan negroes could not be received as
'witneſſes againſt each other, without an oath in legal form;
'it is eaſy to perceive, that the greateſt villainies would often
'ten paſs with impunity.

'Before I conclude, I cannot help obſerving to you,
'*gentlemen*, that by divers parts of the evidence, it appears
'that this horrid *ſcene of iniquity* has been chiefly contrived
'and promoted at meetings of negroes in great numbers
'on *ſundays*. This inſtructive circumſtance may teach us
'many leſſons both of reproof and caution; which I only
'hint at, and ſhall leave the deduction of the particulars to
'every one's reflection.

'*Gentlemen*,

'The monſtrous ingratitude of this black tribe, is what
'exceedingly aggravates their guilt. Their ſlavery among
'us is generally ſoftened with great indulgence. They live
'without care; and are commonly better fed and cloathed,
'and put to leſs labour, than the *poor* of moſt chriſtian coun-
'tries. They are indeed *ſlaves*, but under the protection
'of the law: none can hurt them with impunity. They
'are really more happy in this place, than in the midſt of
'the continual plunder, cruelty and rapine of their native
'countries: but notwithſtanding all the kindneſs and ten-
'derneſs with which they have been treated amongſt us;

'yet

yet this is the ſecond attempt of the ſame kind, that this bruti∫h and bloody ſpecies of mankind have made within one age *. That juſtice that was provoked by former fires, and the innocent blood that was ſpilt in your ſtreets, ſhould have been a perpetual terror to the negroes that ſurvived the vengeance of that day, and ſhould have been a warning to all that had come after them: but I fear, *gentlemen*, that we ſhall never be quite ſafe, till that wicked race are under more reſtraint, or their number greatly reduced within this city. But I ſhall not inſiſt further, but refer you, *gentlemen*, to the direction of the court; and if the evidence againſt theſe priſoners proves ſufficient in your judgment to convict them, I make no doubt but you will bring in a verdict accordingly, and do what in you lies to rid this country of ſome of the vileſt creatures in it.'

Then the jury were charged, and a conſtable was ſworn to attend them as uſual; and they withdrew; and being ſoon returned, found the priſoners guilty of both indictments.

The priſoners were aſked, what they had to offer in arreſt of judgment, why they ſhould not receive ſentence of death? And they offering nothing but repetitions of proteſtations of their innocence;

The THIRD JUSTICE proceeded to ſentence, as followeth.

Quack *and* Cuffee, *the criminals at the bar:*

'You both now ſtand convicted of one of the moſt horrid and deteſtable pieces of villainy, that ever Satan inſtilled into the heart of human creatures to put in practice: *Ye*, and the reſt of your colour, though you are called ſlaves in this country; yet are you all far, very far, from the condition of other ſlaves in other countries; nay, your lot is ſuperior to that of thouſands of white people: You are furniſhed with all the neceſſaries of life, meat, drink and cloathing, without care, in a much better manner than you could provide for yourſelves, were you at liberty; as the miſerable condition of many free-people here of your complexion might abundantly convince you: What then could prompt you to undertake ſo vile, ſo wicked, ſo monſtrous, ſo execrable and helliſh a ſcheme, as to murder and deſtroy your own maſters and benefactors? Nay to deſtroy, root and branch, *all the white people of this place, and to lay the whole town in aſhes.*

* Alluding to the negro plot in 1712, before noted upon *Peggy*'s examination, NUMB. I. 9th May.

'I know not which is the more aſtoniſhing, the extra
'*folly*, or *wickedneſs*, of ſo baſe and ſhocking a conſpira
'for as to any view of liberty or government you could
'poſe to yourſelves, upon the ſucceſs of burning the
'robbing, butchering and deſtroying the inhabitants,
'could it be expected to end in, in the account of any
'tional and conſiderate perſon among you, but your
'deſtruction? And as to the wickedneſs of it, you
'well have reflected, you that have ſenſe, that there
'GOD above, who has always a clear view of all your
'ons; who ſees into the moſt ſecret receſſes of the
'and knoweth all your thoughts; ſhall he not, do ye
'for all this bring you into judgment, at that final and
'day of account, the day of judgment, when the moſt
'cret treachery will be diſcloſed, and laid open to the
'and every one will be rewarded according to their
'and their uſe of that degree of reaſon, which God Almig
'ty has entruſted them with?

'*Ye* that were for deſtroying us without mercy; *ye*
'jects wretches, the outcaſts of the nations of the
'are treated here with tenderneſs and humanity; and,
'wiſh I could not ſay, with too great indulgence alſo;
'*you* have grown wanton with exceſs of liberty, and
'idleneſs has proved your ruin; having given you the
'portunities of forming this villainous and deteſtable conſ
'racy; a ſcheme compounded of the touleſt and black
'vices, treachery, blood-thirſtineſs and ingratitude.—B
'be not deceived, God Almighty only can, and will pro
'portion puniſhments to men's offences; *ye* that have ſhe
'no mercy here, and have been for deſtroying all about
'and involving them in one general maſſacre and ru
'what hopes can *ye* have of mercy in the other world? F
'*ſhall not the Judge of all the earth do right?* Let me in com
'paſſion adviſe *ye* then; there are but a few moments be
'tween *ye* and eternity; *ye* ought therefore ſeriouſly to la
'to heart theſe things; earneſtly and ſorrowfully to bewa
'your monſtrous and crying ſins, in this your extremity
'and if *ye* would reaſonably entertain any hopes of mercy
'at the hands of GOD, *ye* muſt ſhew mercy here your
'ſelves, and make what amends *ye* can before *ye* leave
'for the miſchief you have already done, by preventing a
'more being done.——Do not flatter yourſelves, for th
'ſame meaſure which you give us here, will be meaſure
'to you again in the other world: *Ye* muſt confeſs you
'whol

whole guilt, as to the offences of which ye ſtand convicted, and for which *ye* will preſently receive judgment: Ye muſt diſcover the whole ſcene of iniquity which has been contrived in this monſtrous confederacy, the chief authors and actors, and all and every the parties concerned, aiding and aſſiſting therein, that by your means a full ſtop may be put to this horrible and deviliſh undertaking. And theſe are the only means left *ye* to ſhew mercy; and the only reaſonable grounds *ye* can go upon, to entertain any hopes of mercy at the hands of GOD, before whoſe judgment ſeat *ye* are ſoon to appear.

'*Ye* cannot be ſo ſtupid ſurely, as to imagine, that when '*ye* leave this world, when your ſouls put off theſe bodies of 'clay, *ye* ſhall *become like the beaſts that periſh; that your 'ſpirits ſhall only vaniſh into the ſoft air, and ceaſe to be*: No, 'your ſouls are immortal; they will live for ever, either to 'be eternally happy, or eternally miſerable in the other 'world, where you are now going.

'If *ye* ſincerely and in earneſt repent you of your abomi-'nable ſins, and implore the divine aſſiſtance at this critical 'juncture, in working out the great and momentous arti-'cle of the ſalvation of your ſouls; upon your making all 'the amends, and giving all the ſatisfaction which is in each 'of your powers, by a full and complete diſcovery of the 'conſpiracy, and of the ſeveral perſons concerned in it, as 'I have obſerved to *ye* before; then and only upon theſe 'conditions, can *ye* reaſonably expect mercy at the hands 'of God Almighty, for your poor, wretched and miſerable 'ſouls.

'Here *ye* muſt have juſtice; for the juſtice of human 'laws has at length overtaken *ye*; and we ought to be very 'thankful, and eſteem it a moſt merciful and wondrous act 'of providence, that your treacheries and villainies have 'been diſcovered; that your plot and contrivances, your 'hidden works of darkneſs have been brought to light, and 'ſtopt in their career; *that in the ſame net which you have 'hid ſo privily for others, your own feet are taken; that the 'ſame miſchief which you have contrived for others, and have 'in part executed, is at length fallen upon your own pates*; 'whereby the ſentence which I am now to pronounce, will 'be juſtified againſt *ye*; which is,

'That you and each of you be carried from hence to the 'place from whence you came, and from thence to the place 'of execution, where you and each of you ſhall be chained 'to a ſtake, and burnt to death. 'And

'And the Lord have mercy upon your poor, wretched 'souls.'

*Ordered*, That the execution of the said *Quack* and *Cuffee* be on ſaturday the 30th of this inſtant, between the hours of one and ſeven o'clock in the afternoon of the ſame day.

Court adjourned till tueſday the 2d of *June* next, ten o'clock in the morning.

## SATURDAY, 30th MAY.

This day *Quack* and *Cuffee* were executed at the ſtake according to ſentence.

The ſpectators at this execution were very numerous: About 3 o'clock the criminals were brought to the ſtake, ſurrounded with piles of wood ready for ſetting fire to; which the people were very impatient to have done, their reſentments being raiſed to the utmoſt pitch againſt them, and no wonder. The criminals ſhewed great terror in their countenances, and looked as if they would gladly have diſcovered all they knew of this *accurſed ſcheme*, could they have had any encouragement to hope for a reprieve. But as the caſe was, they might flatter themſelves with hopes: They both ſeemed inclinable to make ſome confeſſion; the only difficulty between them at laſt being, *who ſhould ſpeak firſt*. Mr. *Moore*, the deputy ſecretary, undertook ſingly to examine them both, endeavouring to perſuade them to confeſs their guilt, and all they knew of the matter, without effect; till at length Mr. *Rooſevelt* came up to him, and ſaid he would undertake *Quack*, whilſt Mr. *Moore* examined *Cuffee*; but before they could proceed to the purpoſe, each of them was obliged to flatter his reſpective criminal that his fellow-ſufferer had begun; which ſtratagem prevailed: Mr. *Rooſevelt* ſtuck to *Quack* altogether, and Mr. *Moore* took *Cuffee*'s confeſſion, and ſometimes alſo minutes of what each ſaid; and afterwards upon drawing up their confeſſions in form from their minutes; they therefore intermixed, what came from each.

### Quack's *confeſſion at the ſtake.*

*He ſaid*,

1. 'THAT *Hughſon was the firſt contriver of the whole* 'plot, *and promoter of it*; which *was to burn the houſes of the* 'town; Cuffee ſaid, *to kill the* PEOPLE.

2. 'That *Hughſon* brought in firſt *Cæſar*, VAARCK'S; 'then *Prince*, AUBOYNEAU'S; *Cuffee* PHILIPSE'S; and o-'thers, amongſt whom were old KIP's negro; *Robin*, 'CHAMBER'S;

'CHAMBERS's; *Cuffee*, GOMEZ's; *Jack*, CODWRIS; and 'another *ſhort negro* who cooks for him.'

3. 'That he *Quack* did fire the fort; that it was by a 'lighted ſtick *taken out of the ſervants hall, about eight o'clock 'at night*; that he went up the back ſtairs with it, and ſo 'through *Barbara*'s room; and *put it near the gutter, be-'twixt the ſhingles, and the roof of the houſe.*

'That on a ſunday afternoon, a month before the fir-'ing of the fort, *over a bowl of punch*, the confederates 'at *Hughſon*'s (amongſt whom were the confederates a-'bove named, *Albany*, and *Tickle* alias *Will*, *Jack* and *Cook*, COMFORT'S; *old Butchell* Cæſar*, and *Guy* HORS-'FIELD'S; *Tom*, VAN RANT'S; *Cæſar*, PECK'S; *Wor-'ceſter*, and others) voted him *Quack*, as *having a wife in 'the fort*, to be the perſon who ſhould fire the fort †; *Sandy* 'and *Jack* CODWRIS'S; *Cæſar* and *Guy* HORSFIELD'S; 'were to aſſiſt him in it.

5. That Hughſon *deſired the negroes to bring to his houſe 'what they could get from the fire*; and *Hughſon* was to 'bring down country people in his boat to further the buſi-'neſs; and would bring in other negroes.

6. 'That forty or fifty to his knowledge were concern-'ed, but their names could not recollect, [*the mob preſſing 'and interrupting.*]

7. 'That *Cuffee*, GOMEZ's; and *Cæſar*, PECK's, fired '*Van Zant*'s ſtorehouſe.

8. 'That Mary Burton *had ſpoke the truth, and could 'name many more.*

9. 'Fortune, WILKINS's; *and* Sandy *had done the 'ſame*; *and* Sandy *could name the* Spaniards, *and ſay much 'more*; which *Cuffee* particularly confirmed.

10. 'Being aſked what view *Hughſon* had in acting in this 'manner? He anſwered, *to make himſelf rich.*

11. 'That after the fire was over, *Quack* was at *Hugh-'ſon*'s houſe, *Jack*, COMFORT's, *a leading man*, *Hughſon*, '*wife* and *daughter* preſent, and ſaid, *the job was done*; 'meaning the fire: that he went frequently to *Hughſon*'s 'houſe, and met there *Tickle* and *Albany.*

12. '*Quack* ſaid his wife was no ways concerned, for 'he would never truſt her with it: and that *Denby*‡ knew nothing of the matter. 13. 'Ja-

* 'Twas not diſcovered who this negro was.

† The reader may perceive hereafter that the whole current of the teſtimony of the witneſſes, white and black, do agree, that there was a great meeting of the negroes at *Hughſon*'s on a ſunday evening, about a month before the *fort* was burnt.

‡ The governor's negro boy. *Quack*'s wife was the governor's cook.

13. 'Jamaica, Ellis's, not concerned that he knew of; but was frequently at *Hughson's* with his fiddle.

14. 'Said, he was not ſworn by *Hughſon*, but others were *.

*Mr DONALD* (the witneſs againſt *Quack* upon the trial) at the ſtake deſired Mr. *Pinborne* to aſk *Quack*, whether he had wronged him in what he had ſaid of him at court? He anſwered, *no; it was true he did paſs him at the fort gate, about eleven o'clock that morning.*

The witneſs then went up to him himſelf, and aſked him the ſame queſtion; and he anſwered the ſame as to Mr. *Pinborne*, *That he had not wronged him*; and further, 'That he *Quack* thought the fort would have been on fire 'the night before; for that he had taken a firebrand out 'of the ſervants hall, and carried it up into the garret, 'on the *ſeventeenth* at night [*St. Patrick's*] and when he 'came up the next morning into the garret, he found the 'brand alight, and blew it, and then went away again †.

Cuffee's

* If this be true, then he was ſworn there by ſome body elſe: but *Caſſo* told *Arthur Price*, as he ſays, that he (*Caſſo*) went down with *Quack* to *Hughſon's*, and that *Hughſon* ſwore *Quack* three times. See *Price's* depoſition, NUMB. III. § 1, 14th May. Perhaps *Caſſo* ſaid no more than that he ſaw *Quack* ſworn there three times. From what had been diſcovered of this villainy at that time, and for ſome time afterwards, it was the general opinion, that *Hughſon* was the contriver and chief ſchemiſt of the conſpiracy; and theſe two negroes it ſhould ſeem, knew no better: and from *Quack's* being carried to *Hughſon's*, and ſworn three times there, *Price* might naturally enough conclude he was ſworn by *Hughſon* himſelf, and underſtand *Caſſo* ſo. It will ſcarce be expected a witneſs ſhould depoſe preciſely the ſame words which paſs in a long diſcourſe, but the ſubſtance of them only, according to his own apprehenſion and remembrance.—It was thought that the falſe, enſnaring, damnable notion (which had no doubt with great art and induſtry been inſtilled into theſe wretches) of the obligation of that infernal oath, which had been ſo often adminiſtred to them by *Hughſon* and other principal conſpirators, was the true reaſon of the backwardneſs and heſitancy of theſe criminals, and their alternately inſiſting upon the punctilio of the other's opening firſt.---The hopes and promiſes of paradiſe for doing the devil's work, is no new invention of worldly, wicked and blood-thirſty politicians, for involving ſuch as they are pleaſed to ſtile hereticks, in butchery and deſtruction.

Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum, falſa!

† This to ſome may ſeem incredible: but thoſe who have experienced hiccory or walnut firewood, which has the preference of all other firewood in this country (amongſt other reaſons for the durableneſs of the coal) have affirmed, that they have known when a fire has been laid up, and brands-ends or ſticks put by in the chimney corner, that they have mouldered ſlowly away, and been often found alive twenty four hours afterwards; which is much longer than this brand lay upon the beam in the garret at the fort; and this was in a place where little or no air came to quicken it; and where it lay being upon a beam next the ſhingle roof, it was poſſible there might have been ſome leak which had made it damp or wet, which by the wood and the aſhes mouldering from it, was at length dried by the time *Quack* came up there the next morning about eleven o'clock, which was about eleven hour

*Cuffee's confeſſion at the ſtake.*

*He ſaid,*

1. 'That *Hughſon* was the *firſt contriver of all*; and preſſed him to it: that he *Cuffee* was one of the firſt concerned.

2. 'The fire was firſt intended to begin at *Coeſſart's* ſhingles, and ſo go through the town.

3. 'Old KIP's negro; *Robin*, CHAMBERS's; *Jack*, COMFORT's; and *Caeſar*, GOMEZ's; were of the conſpirators; *Albany* and *Tickle* were concerned.

4. 'That he was ſworn, and *Caeſar* and *Prince* * alſo by *Hughſon*.

5. 'That *Cuffee*, GOMEZ's; and *Caeſar*, PECK's; burnt *Van Zant's* ſtorehouſe.

6. 'That *Sandy* ſet fire to Mr. *Marchado's* houſe; *Niblet's* negro wench can tell it; and *Becker's Beſt* † knows it.

7. 'That *he ſet fire to the ſtorehouſe as ſworn againſt him*; that when his maſter went to the coffee-houſe, he ran out of the other door, and went the back way into the ſtorehouſe, having lighted charcoal in his pocket between two oyſter-ſhells; he put the fire between the ropes and the boards, and leaving it on fire, went home.

8. 'That *Hughſon's* people were to raiſe a mob to favour the deſign.

9. 'That the evidence *Peterſon* did ſee him: that *Fortune* did ſee him the night before ‡.

10. 'That *Fortune* knew and was as deeply concerned as he; and *Sandy* was concerned, and knew the *Spaniards* §. And (being aſked) did confeſs *there was a deſign to kill the people, but not told to all* ‖. And,

hours after the brand was laid there, by *Quack's* account; and the aſhes which in that time had moulderet from the brand, might poſſibly guard the beam from the fire till *Quack* had blown them away, and enlivened the brand, by which means it might afterwards take effect; though it was about an hour and a half after this that the ſmoke and ſmother appeared on the outſide the *ſtool*. But however it was, theſe were declared by the witneſs *Mc Donald*, to be part of *Quack's* dying words, whatever objections they may be liable to.——And *Quack* it ſeems was the occaſion of this miſchief.

* *Vaſco's* and *Antonio's*.

† This wench not apprehended.

‡ See *Fortune's* evidence on the trial and his examination. NUMB. II. § 2. Saturday, 23d May.——Alſo *Sarah Higgins's* evidence on the trial.

§ i. e. The Spaniſh negro conſpirators.

‖ So that *Cuffee* was more in the ſecret than others engaged.

11. 'Said

11. Said 'There was about fifty concerned *; and that 'all were concerned, that a conſtable who ſtood by, † had 'ſeen at *Hughſon*'s houſe.'

After theſe confeſſions were minuted down (which were taken in the midſt of great noiſe and confuſion) Mr. *Moore* deſired the ſheriff to delay the execution till the governor could be acquainted therewith, and his pleaſure known touching their reprieve; which, could it have been effected, 'twas thought might have been a means of producing great diſcoveries: but from the diſpoſition obſerved in the ſpectators, it was much to be apprehended, there would have been great difficulty, if not danger, in an attempt to take the criminals back. All this was repreſented to his honour: and before Mr. *Moore* could return from him to the place of execution, he met the ſheriff upon the common, who declared his opinion, that the carrying the negroes back would be impracticable; and if that was his honour's order, it could not be attempted without a ſtrong guard, which could not be got time enough: and his honour's directions for the reprieve being conditional and diſcretionary, for theſe reaſons the execution proceeded.

*Cuffee*, from the courſe of the evidence, was one of the principal negroes who was firſt initiated into this deteſtable enterprize; one that *Hughſon*, no doubt, found ſo thoroughly qualified for his purpoſe, that he might put more than ordinary confidence in him, and entruſt him with a greater ſhare of this infernal ſecret than others of his colour; but more eſpecially as to the parties blacks and whites engaged in it. It was notorious *Cuffee* had a great deal of idle time upon his hands; perhaps more than any negro in town; conſequently was much at large for making frequent daily or nightly viſits at *Hughſon*'s, the head lodge, where theſe deeds of darkneſs and inhumanity were brooding; and therefore indeed muſt of courſe have become perſonally acquainted with a greater number of the conſpirators, than others who had fewer of the like opportunities.

*Quack* had a maſter who kept him fully employed, 2 days at leaſt, and it ſeems he was a much later convert; for *Cuffee* in his diſcourſe with *Arthur Price* about *the perſon that ſet fire to the fort*. [*See* Price's *depoſition again*, NUMB. III.

* This ſeems to be a random gueſs under great confuſion; for it is moſt probable he knew more.

† *North*; the Whitſontide before he had interrupted a number of negroes feaſting at *Hughſon*'s, and cudgelled them away.

§ 1.

§ 1. 12th *May*: for the manner of this *Peggy*'s coming from *Cuffee* to a fellow-priſoner, as there related, is ſomewhat remarkable, and may be very apt to induce one's credit.] *Price* having told *Cuffee*, 'That he 'had heard Peggy *had diſcovered about the fire at the fort*, 'Cuffee *replied, ſhe could not do that unleſs ſhe foreſwore* 'herſelf, *he knew*; *for he that had done what was ſworn.*' [Perhaps he meant *into the conſpiracy* alſo, but at leaſt he muſt mean *to do that fact*] 'after Peggy was in priſon'. And ſo *Cuffee* goes on and tells the circumſtances of his meeting *Quack* (it ſhould ſeem according to appointment) and carrying him down to *Hughſon*'s, and *Hughſon*'s ſwearing him three times (to make ſure of him)—This could not have been long before the *fort* was burnt down. For *Peggy* was committed on the 4th of *March*, and the *fort* burnt the 18th, but intended for the 17th at night; and by *Cuffee*'s ſaying, '*She could not do that unleſs ſhe foreſwore herſelf, he* '*knew.*' i. e. (*Cuffee* muſt mean) ſhe could not diſcover the perſon who ſet fire to the fort.—*Quack* muſt therefore have been engaged in this wicked purpoſe, but a little before he put it in execution; and though *Hughſon and his adviſers*, might have known long before, that *Quack* was a fit tool for them, and as ſuch make very much of him, becauſe he had pretenſions to go to the fort, and ſtay there a-nights with his wife; and though probably he might have been engaged and *ſworn* into the general deſign of the conſpiracy (which was the artifice, it ſeems, they conſtantly practiſed upon a negro's ſaying *Yes*; i. e. conſenting to their abominable propoſals) yet they might not think it ſo ſafe to attempt the engaging him for this particular fact, long before the time calculated for the execution of it; for they might apprehend ſome danger in that: during a long interval, there would have been more hazard of his talking of it, and perhaps to his wife; who, if ſhe had any influence over him, and had happened to have a grain of honeſty, or gratitude towards her maſter and his family, ſhe poſſibly might have perſuaded him to make a merit to them both, of detecting this infernal confederacy; and therefore, it ſeems moſt probable the devil and his agents deferred the attempting his reſolution upon this grand article, till ſome ſhort time before the execution of it; if they found *Quack* of a pliable diſpoſition, they might think if they could upon a ſurprize, fix him in the perſuaſion that ſuch an oath was at all obligatory; by the reiterating of it, they might make the deeper impreſſion

preſſion upon him, and for him the more firmly, and that there would be leſs lamented of his failure in the enterprize, the ſhorter time he had to cool and deliberate upon it.

Both theſe criminals declare their opinions, that Hughſon *was the firſt contriver and promoter of the conſpiracy*, ſo far as they knew of the matter; that he was the firſt promoter as to them, they were ſure of: he drew *Cuffee* into it *ſeveral years before*, as will appear hereafter. But if the foregoing reflections are right, ſurely they import a ſtretch of policy beyond what could be expected from an illiterate *Cobler*, Hughſon!

However, from theſe confeſſions, there was another ſatisfaction beyond theſe criminals acknowledgment of their own guilt, that the teſtimony of *Mary Burton*, *Sarah* and *Fortune*, negroes, witneſſes upon their trial, (upon the credit whereof chiefly theſe criminals were convicted) was by them particularly and expreſly confirmed in the midſt of flames; which is the higheſt atteſtation: and by conſequence from the whole, *Arthur Price*'s alſo; who was the firſt that gave information that *Quack* was the perſon that ſet fire to the *fort*, and *Cuffee* had told him ſo.

Upon the confeſſions of theſe two criminals, one of the judges iſſued a warrant for apprehending the negroes on *Naſſau* iſland by them impeached, belonging to Mr. *Cruſoe* and the *Horſfields*; and in conſequence thereof, and the orders given to the conſtables in town, the following ſlaves were committed this evening, *viz.*

*Harry*, KIPP's, *Guiſe* alias *Galick*, TIM. HORSFIELD's,
*Tickle* alias *Will*,
*Cæſar*, ISRAEL HORSFIELD's, *Tom* VAN RANT's,
*Cambridge*, CODWEISE's, *Worceſter*, VARIAN's.

The other negroes mentioned in the confeſſions, were in cuſtody before.

## *MONDAY*, 1ſt JUNE.

*Examination of* Sandy (Niblet's *negro*)

*Before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. III.

*He ſaid*,

THAT he heard by capt. *Luſhe*'s houſe, about *ſix of the Spaniards* (about fourteen days before the fort

was

'was burnt) say, That if the captain could not send them to 'their own country, they would ruin all the city; and the first 'house they would burn, should be the captain's; for they did not 'care what they did.—He (*Sandy*) stood by *Arden*'s door, 'and they did not (as he thought) see him; and that (point-'ing to *Lusbe*'s house) they said, D—n that son of a b—h, 'they would make a devil of him; which was the first time 'he ever heard of the conspiracy.

2. 'That the second time, *Quack* * called to him by 'Coentjes market, and told him, he wanted to speak to him; 'and said, will you help to burn the fort; and answered, as 'he said at the trial, and in [his] examination, before the 'grand jury: Said, that *Quack* told him, the first time he met 'him, he would make an end of him.

3. 'That the third time, at *Comfort*'s house, one sunday, 'when COMFORT's *Jack* called to him to come in, and 'he went in; *Sarah* (BURK's negro wench) d—n'd him, 'and bid him drink, having before refused.

4. 'That there was a great number of Negroes present, 'and about six *Spanish* negroes among them; but none of 'them were the same that he saw at *Lysbe*'s.——That 'he did drink.

5. 'That COMFORT's *Jack* brought out about eleven pen-'knives, which were rusty; some complained their knives 'were dull and would not cut, which they went to sharpen 'on a stone: *Jack* (COMFORT's) said, his knife was so 'sharp, that if it came a-cross a white man's head, it would 'cut it off: On which he (*Sandy*) said, if you want to fight, 'go to the *Spaniards*, and not fight with your masters.

6. 'That they asked him (and COMFORT's *Jack* in par-'ticular) if he would help to burn some houses: He cried: 'On which *Jack* (COMFORT's) said, d—n you, do you 'cry? I'll cut your head off in a hurry; and surrounded 'him: On which *Burk*'s wench said, he deserved it, if he 'won't say *yes*; on which he consented, and said *yes*: 'Whereupon they did not threaten him; but bid him say 'nothing to black or white about it, and every one would 'do his part, and take a round, and fire the town.

7. 'That *Jack* (COMFORT's) said, they had not men 'enough this year, but next year they would do it. *Ev-'ery one present was to set his master's house on fire first: and 'then do the rest at once, and set all the houses on fire in the 'town*; which when they had done, *they would kill all the 'white men, and have their wives for themselves.*

* Roosevelt's negro.

8. 'That Mr. MOORE's *Cato*, *Cæsar* (PENNINGTON's negro) Mr. JAY's *Brush*, *Jack* (that is in goal) knows him if he sees him: TODD's *Dundee*, CHANDLER's *Boston*, *Patrick* (ENGLISH's) PEET's *Cæsar*, a *Carmantee*, CORLEY's *Cato*, COMFORT's *Joseph* alias *Cook*, KIRBY's *Harry*, and three country negroes, who called COMFORT's *Jack*, uncle, and brother, and cousin. [This meeting was about a fortnight before the fort was burnt.] BEN MOORE's *Tom*, LEFFERT's *Pompey*, DUANE's *Prince*, COMFORT's old *Carmantee* woman (VARICK's) *Cæsar* (hanged) were there also; the room being quite full.

9. 'That *Augustine*, and WILKINS's *Fortune* were to burn their master's houses; which he heard them say, as they were talking by *Frazier's* corner, about a week before the fort was burnt.

10. 'That at the aforesaid meeting at *Comfort's*, *Jack*, the old man, and *the old woman, and three of the Spaniards were sworn*, to the effect, *That the first thunder that came might strike them dead, if they did not stand to their words.*

11. 'That they asked him to come again the next day to be sworn; the rest said, *they would* come to be sworn the next day.

The negroes *Tom*, BEN MOORE's; *Prince*, DUANE's; and *Pompey*, LEFFERT's, apprehended and committed.

*Examination of* Fortune, (WILKINS's *negro*) *before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. III.

'*He said*,

'THAT *Quack* ‡ one sabbath day afternoon, asked him to walk into the fields, and pressed him to it: 'Third meeting told him, he should see a great alteration 'at the fort; and told him, that they were going to burn 'the fort, threatned that some of his mates would poison 'him if he told.

2. 'That *Niblet's* boy † told him that GOMEZ's *negro* was 'to assist in burning the fort.

3. 'That he heard *Quack* talk to GOMEZ's negro '(*Cuffee*) on the dock, that he must meet him to burn the 'house; and if white people came, to shoot them with 'pistols; which was before the meeting him by Mr. *Richard's*.

4. 'That when he asked *Sandy* (NIBLET's negro) who 'was to burn the fort? He answererd, *Quack, himself*, and 'GOMEZ's *Cuffee*; that he asked him (*Sandy*, NIBLET's

‡ Roosevelt's negro. † Sandy.

'negro)

'negro) to be committed; and that he said to *Quack*, he 'had no mind to be hanged, he might go to h—ll and be 'd—d.

5. 'That he never talked to any negro but *Quack* and 'NIBLET's, about any conspiracy, or design of firing.

6. 'Never heard of a house where they met; nor knew '*Hughson*—*Cuffee* however has asked him to go down to 'a house by the north river, and dance with them; but he 'never did.

*Examination of* Sarah (BURN's *negro wench*) *before one of the Judges, Mr.* Chambers, *and others.*

NUMB. III.

*She said,*

'THAT one sunday afternoon, about four or five of 'the clock, she was at *Comfort*'s house in the kitchen, 'about five weeks before the fort was fired; a great many 'negroes sitting round the table, betwixt twenty and thirty, 'amongst whom were Dr. Fisher's * *Harry*, Bagley's * 'Jemmy, widow *Schuyler*'s tall slender * negro, Abeel's 'Mulatto * *Tom*, Niblet's *Sandy*: She staid there about 'an hour, and Rum was there; Mrs. Clopper's * *Betty*, 'Robin (Chambers's negro) Mr. Clarkson's * *Tom*, Gro-'esbeck's *Mink* (*an impudent toad*) Rowe's *Father Tom*, 'old *Frank*, Philipse's *Cuffee*, Teller's * *Sarah*, *Vaarck*'s 'Cæsar, Auboyneau's *Prince*, Comfort's *Jack*, Comfort's 'Cook, Comfort's * *Jenny*, *Jack* a busy man, *Patrick* (En-'glish's boy) Hunt's *Warwick*, (a negro that cut his throat) 'Todd's *Dundee*, Brinkerhoff's * *Tom*, Pintard's *Cæsar*, 'old Kip's *Harry*, Teneyck's *Bill*, Silvester's * *Sambo*, a 'tall negro, living at *John Dewit*'s (a stranger) Kierstead's 'Braveboy, John Hunt's * *Jenny*, *the Long-Bridge boys*. 'Patrick (English's boy) used to say, *let us go to* Romer's‡ '---Alsteyn's * *Cato*, Shurmur's *Cato*, Lefferts's *Pompey*; 'Comfort's *Jack*, and others sharpened their knives, and 'said, they would go and set fire along the docks; Com-'fort's *Jack* proposed the fort first; *Cook* said, no, they 'would find them out if they did: Every one was to set 'their master's house on fire; Clopper's *Betty* carried there: 'They swore, and said, *They wished thunder might strike 'them to the hearts if they told.* Three negroes, viz. Com-'fort's *two*, and *old Harry* sworn; *Cuffee* was sworn; and 'Cæsar, Auboyneau's *Prince*; *All that made the right bar-*

‡ For Romme's.

'gain *ſworn*; the reſt were to come the next day: De Lancey's *Anthony* there, and Roſevelt's *Quack*: Comfort's *Jack* drew out his knife and threatned the negro of Niblet, on which *Sandy* conſented.

2. 'That they wherted their knives on a ſtone, ſome complaining, that their knives were ruſty and blunt; and ſome ſaid, that their knives were ſharp enough to cut off a white man's head: That they would kill the white men, and have the white women for their wives.

3. 'That on a diſpute between them, *Quack* was pitched upon to fire the fort; others having refuſed, *Quack* undertook it: *Curacoa Dick* there, and conſented.

4. '*Confeſſed* ſhe threatned Niblet's *negro*, and bid them cut his head off if he did not drink.

5. 'That ſhe believed there were *Spaniſh* negroes there; and that Mr. Moore's *Cato* was there, and conſented.'

Notwithſtanding this wench had brought ſo many negroes in queſtion, at length when the examination came to be read over to her, ſhe retracted, and excuſed many perſons; ſaying, ſuch a one, and ſuch a one went away *before the bargain was made*: ‡ Thoſe ſhe ſo excuſed are marked with an * afteriſk.——This was one of the oddeſt animals amongſt the black confederates, and give the moſt trouble in her examinations; a creature of an outragious ſpirit: When ſhe was firſt interrogated upon this examination about the conſpiracy, ſhe abſolutely denied ſhe knew any thing of the matter; threw herſelf into moſt violent agitations; foamed at the mouth, and uttered the bittereſt imprecations, if ever ſhe was at *Comfort's* in her life, or knew where his houſe was: But at length, being apprized that there was poſitive evidence againſt her, that ſhe was at a meeting there amongſt the confederates, when they were talking of the conſpiracy; and that ſhe was one conſenting and adviſing thereto; and ſome items alſo given her of her behaviour and expreſſions with reſpect to *Sandy*; † and that ſhe could entertain no hopes of eſcaping with life, or recommending herſelf to mercy, but by making an ingenuous confeſſion and diſcovery of the whole truth of what ſhe knew of the matter, and the perſons concerned; ſhe ſtood aghaſt and ſilent for ſome time; but at laſt declared ſhe would tell the whole truth, and began to open; and ſo by degrees grew more calm, *and ſeemed abundantly eaſier after diſburthening part of*

‡ i. e. Before they took this execrable oath. † See Sawney's examination, NUMB. II. §. 1, 2, 4. Monday 25th May.

*the*

*the ſecret.* But her conduct was ſuch upon the whole, that what ſhe ſaid, if not confirmed by others, or concurring circumſtances, could not deſerve entire credit.—She, no doubt, muſt have had extraordinary qualifications to recommend her to the confidence of the confederates; for ſhe was the only wench againſt whom there was *ſtrong* and flagrant evidence of having conſented to and approved this execrable project.

About noon this day, the under-ſheriff informed the recorder, that *John Hughſon* wanted to ſpeak to the judges, and (as he had ſaid) *to open his heart to them, and they ſhould know more*; and was very urgent that ſomebody ſhould go to them to acquaint them therewith. Purſuant to *Hughſon*'s deſire, the recorder did go up to the city-hall in the afternoon, expecting he would make ſome material diſcovery; and having ſent for him, he was aſked, what it was that he wanted with the judges? Whereupon *Hughſon* aſked if there was a bible, and deſired that he might be ſworn: He was told, that no oath would be adminiſtered to him; if he had any thing to ſay, he had free liberty to ſpeak; *but he wanted very much to be ſworn*: The recorder thereupon reproached him with his wicked life and practices; debauching and corrupting of negroes, and encouraging them to ſteal and pilfer from their maſters and others; and for ſhewing his children ſo wicked an example, training them up in the high-way to hell: He further obſerved to him, that *he, his wife, and Peggy*, then ſtood convicted of a felony for receiving ſtolen goods of negroes; and that now nothing remained but to paſs ſentence of death upon them, and to appoint a day for their execution for that fact; but that it was how determined, that *he, his wife and daughter, and Peggy*, ſhould be alſo tried for being confederated in this moſt horrible conſpiracy; that the evidence would appear ſo ſtrong and clear againſt them in this particular, that there was little doubt of their being all convicted upon that head alſo; that it would appear undeniably that he was a principal, and head agent in this deſtable ſcheme of villainy; the chief abettor, together with the reſt of his family, of this execrable and moſt monſtrous contrivance for ſhedding the blood of his neighbours, and laying the city in aſhes, upon the expectation of enriching himſelf by ſuch an inhuman and execrable undertaking: He therefore admoniſhed him, if he would entertain the leaſt hopes of recommending himſelf to the mercy of God Almighty, before whoſe tribunal he muſt

ſoon appear, that he would ingenuously tell the truth, and lay open the whole ſcene of this dark tragedy, which had been brooding at his houſe; and diſcover the ſeveral parties he knew to have been engaged in it; in doing which he would make ſome atonement for his paſt villainies; by preventing that ſlaughter, bloodſhed and deſolation which he and his confederates had intended: Or the recorder expreſſed himſelf in words to this purpoſe. But hereupon *Hayſey* put on a *ſoft ſmiling air of innocence upon his countenance*, again deſiring that he might be ſworn; which was refuſed him; and he then declared, he knew nothing at all of any conſpiracy; and called God to witneſs his proteſtations, that he was as innocent with reſpect to that charge as the child unborn, and alſo *his wife*, *daughter*, and *Peggy* for ought he knew.

Whereupon the recorder remanded him to jail.

Whether the man was ſtruck with a compunction, or flattered himſelf with making a merit by his diſcovery, and thereby recommend himſelf to mercy, and that he ſhould ſave his life; or whether he imagined, that if he could be ſworn, and then make the moſt ſolemn proteſtations with the ſanction of an oath; that this would give ſuch ſtrong impreſſions of his innocence, as might make way for his eſcape; what his view was can only be gueſſed at: But ſeveral who were by him in the jail when he expreſſed his deſire of having the opportunity of ſpeaking with the judges, as above mentioned, concluded from his condition and behaviour at that inſtant, that he was then really in earneſt to lay open this ſcene of villainy; but 'twas thought that in two or three hours afterwards, his wife or others had got the better of him, and prevailed with him to change his mind, and deſiſt from his former reſolution.

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY*, 2*d*. JUNE.

PRESENT,

*The Second and Third Juſtices.*

Court opened and adjourned to four o'clock in the afternoon.

*P. M.*

P. M.

PRESENT,

*The ſecond Juſtice.*

The KING,
*againſt*
John Hughſon,
Sarah, *his wife*,
Sarah, *their daughter*,
Margaret Sorubiero, *alias* Kerry.

THE priſoners were arraigned upon an indictment for a conſpiracy, for abetting and encouraging the negro *Quack* to burn the King's houſe in the fort: to which they ſeverally pleaded, *not guilty*, &c.

*Note*, This is the firſt indictment againſt *Sarah* the daughter, and the ſecond againſt the reſt.

Court adjourned to thurſday the 4th inſtant, ten o'clock in the morning.

Supreme Court.

*THURSDAY*, 4th JUNE.

PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING,
*againſt*
John Hughſon,
Sarah, *his wife*,
Sarah, *their daughter*,
Margaret Sorubiero, *alias* Kerry.

ON motion of Mr. attorney general, the priſoners were brought to the bar, and arraigned on an indictment for a conſpiracy, for counſelling, abetting, &c. the negro *Cuffee* to burn Mr. *Philipſe*'s ſtorehouſe; and all pleaded *not guilty*.

*Note*, This was the ſecond indictment againſt the daughter, the third againſt the reſt.

And this being the day appointed for their trials on the former indictments, whereof they had due notice; the court proceeded thereupon as followeth.

The KING, *againſt* The ſame, } *On trial upon three indictments:*

Clerk in court. *Cryer, make proclamation.*

*Cryer.* O yes! Our ſovereign lord the King doth ſtrictly charge and command all manner of perſons to keep ſilence upon pain of impriſonment.

*Cryer.* If any one can inform the King's juſtices, the attorney general for this province, or the inqueſt now to be taken on the behalf of our ſovereign lord the King, of any treaſon, murder, felony, or any other miſdemeanour committed or done by the priſoners at the bar, let them come forth, and they ſhall be heard; for the priſoners ſtand upon their deliverance.

Clerk. *Cryer, make proclamation.*

*Cryer.* O yes! You good men that are impannelled to enquire between our ſovereign lord the King and *John Hughſon*, *Sarah* his wife, *Sarah Hughſon* the daughter, and *Margaret Sorubiero*, alias *Kerry*, the priſoners at the bar, anſwer to your names, *&c.*

Clerk. John Hughſon, Sarah *the wife of* John Hughſon, Sarah *the daughter of* John Hughſon, Margaret Sorubiero, *alias* Kerry, *hold up your hands.*

*Theſe good men that are now called and here appear, are thoſe which are to paſs between you and our ſovereign lord the King, upon your lives or deaths; if you, or any, or either of you, challenge any of them, you muſt ſpeak as they come to the book to be ſworn, and before they are ſworn.*

*Court.* You, the priſoners at the bar, we muſt inform you, that the law allows you the liberty of challenging peremptorily twenty of the jurors, if you have any diſlike to them, and you need not give your reaſons for ſo doing; and you may likewiſe challenge as many more as you can give ſufficient reaſons for; and you may either all join in your challenges, or make them ſeparately.

The priſoners agreed that *John Hughſon* ſhould challenge for them all.

[At *Hughſon*'s challenging (among others) a young gentleman, merchant of the town, *Peggy* ſeemed out of humour, and intimated, *that he had challenged one of the beſt of them all*; which occaſioned ſome mirth to thoſe within the hearing of it.]

The priſoners having peremptorily challenged ſixteen, the following JURORS were ſworn.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Edward Man*, | *John Laſher*, |
| *Robert Benſon*, | *John Troup*, |
| *Henry Lawrence*, | *Frederick Becker*, |

*Samuel*

*Samuel Burdet*, *Francis Roſwell*,
*Charles Ardings*, *Beurt Dyoanch*,
*Thomas Woodmanſe*, *Peter Vergerieau*.

Clerk. *Cryer, make proclamation.*

*Cryer.* O yes! Our ſovereign Lord the King doth ſtrictly charge and command all manner of perſons to keep ſilence upon pain of impriſonment.

Clerk. *You gentlemen of the jury that are ſworn, look upon the priſoners and hearken to their charge.*

The ſubſtance of the three indictments followeth.

The firſt indictment ſets forth, that *Hughſon*, his *wife*, and *Kerry*, and alſo three negroes, to wit, *Cæſar*, *Prince* and *Cuffee*, had on the third day of *March* then laſt paſt, entered in a moſt deteſtable and felonious conſpiracy, combination and confederacy with each other, *to ſet on fire and burn the houſe of our lord the KING*, which then was ſtanding and being at the fort within this city; *and alſo this whole town, and to kill and deſtroy the inhabitants thereof*: And that they had feloniouſly and of their malice aforethought, procured, abetted, counſelled and encouraged divers negroes and other perſons, to the jurors then unknown, to ſet on fire, burn and conſume the King's houſe, and divers other houſes and buildings within this city: And that the ſaid negroes and other perſons then unknown, in purſuance of their being ſo procured, abetted, counſelled and encouraged as aforeſaid, by *Hughſon*, his *wife* and *Kerry*, and *Cæſar*, *Prince*, and *Cuffee*; voluntarily, feloniouſly and of their malice aforethought, and with intent to burn down and conſume the greater part of this town; had ſet on fire *the King's houſe*; *the dwelling-houſe of* Agnes Hilton; *the ſtorehouſe of* Frederick Philipſe, *Eſq*; and divers other houſes and buildings within this city: And that *the King's houſe being ſo ſet on fire, was burnt down and conſumed*; and that the ſaid dwelling-houſe, ſtorehouſe, and other houſes, being ſo ſet on fire as aforeſaid, were in part burnt down and conſumed.

The ſecond indictment ſets forth, that the negro *Quack*, on the eighteenth day of *March*, in the fourteenth year of his Majeſty's reign, did of his malice aforethought, wickedly, maliciouſly, voluntarily, wilfully and feloniouſly ſet on fire, burn, and wholly conſume and deſtroy a certain dwelling-houſe of our lord the King, which was then ſtanding and being at the fort within this city: And that *Hughſon*, his *wife* and *daughter*, and *Kerry*, before the felony and burning aforeſaid was done and perpetrated, of their malice aforethought,

thought, wickedly, maliciously, voluntarily, wilfully and feloniously, did counsel, abet, procure and encourage the said *Quack*, the felony and burning aforesaid committed and perpetrated, to commit and perpetrate. And

The third indictment sets forth, that the negroe *Cuffee*, the sixth day of *April*, in the fourteenth year of his Majesty's reign, did, of his malice aforethought, wickedly, maliciously, voluntarily, wilfully and feloniously set on fire and burn a certain house belonging to *Frederick Phillipse*, Esq; which was then standing and being within this city: And that *Hughson*, his *wife* and *daughter*, and *Kerry*, before the felony and burning aforesaid was done and perpetrated, of their malice aforethought, wickedly, maliciously, voluntarily, wilfully and feloniously did counsel, abet, procure and encourage the said *Cuffee*, the felony and burning aforesaid committed and perpetrated, to commit and perpetrate, in most pernicious example of all others in the like cases offending; contrary to the form of the statutes in such case made and provided, and against the peace of our sovereign lord the King, his crown and dignity.

To which three several indictments the prisoners, defendants in each * have been arraigned, and thereto pleaded, *not guilty*.

The attorney general, after opening to the court and jury the charge against the prisoners, proceeded as followeth.

'*Gentlemen*,

'I shall, in the first place, on the trial of the prisoners 'upon these indictments, shew you, that the negroes *Quack* 'and *Cuffee*, mentioned in the second and third of them, 'have already been tried, found guilty, and executed for 'the felonies and burnings which these indictments charge 'them to have been guilty of: That they confessed the same 'at the place of their execution; and *that the evidence which* 'Mary Burton *gave against them at their trial, was true, in every respect*.

'In the next place, *gentlemen*, I am to shew you, what 'share each of the prisoners at the bar had in these most horrible felonies.

* The first of these three indictments for the conspiracy was found against Hughson, his wife, and Kerry, soon after their conviction of having received stolen goods, knowing them to have been such, and some time before the trial of the negroes Quack and Cuffee; and before it was discovered that Quack had set fire to his Majesty's house in the fort, or Cuffee to Mr. Phillipse's storehouse, or that Sarah (Hughson's daughter) was known to be a party concerned in the conspiracy.

'And,

'And, *gentlemen*, as each of theſe four criminals have 'acted their ſeveral parts in this black, this monſtrous, and 'tragical ſcene; I ſhall begin with opening the evidence a-'gainſt the three laſt named, that I may conclude with my 'obſervations on the charge againſt *Hughſon* himſelf, and 'ſet him and his moſt deteſtable actions in their proper co-'lours before you.

'First then, I ſhall prove to you, *gentlemen*, from full 'and clear evidence, that theſe priſoners are all guilty of the 'whole charge againſt them.—That they entered into a 'moſt wicked and hellish plot to ſet on fire, and lay in aſhes 'the King's houſe, and this whole town; and to kill and de-'ſtroy the inhabitants as they ſhould come to ſecure their 'effects, and extinguiſh the flames.——That this dread-'ful conſpiracy took its firſt riſe at *Hughſon*'s houſe in this 'city.——*That* it was there formed, ſet on foot, and car-'ried on *: And that the three laſt named criminals, as well 'as *Hughſon* himſelf, were all preſent at divers meetings of 'great numbers of negroes, and the reſt of the conſpirators 'there for that purpoſe.——That *there* theſe three crimi-'nals were all ſworn into this abominable plot, and at thoſe 'meetings, joined with *Hughſon* in exciting and encouraging '*Quack* and *Cuffee*, and the reſt of the negroes, and other 'their wicked confederates, to commit theſe execrable fe-'lonies.

'I ſhall now endeavour to repreſent to you the part which '*Hughſon* himſelf has acted in this tragedy.

'*Gentlemen*,

'It will appear to you in the courſe of the evidence for 'the King upon this trial, that *John Hughſon* was the chief 'contriver, abettor, and encourager of all this myſtery of i-'niquity——*That* it was *he*, who adviſed and procured 'ſecret and frequent meetings of the negroes, and the reſt 'of the conſpirators, at his houſe, there to form and carry 'on theſe horrible conſpiracies.——That it was *he* that 'ſwore the negroes *Quack* and *Cuffee*, with many others, and 'himſelf too, into this direful plot.—*That* it was *he* who de-'viſed firebrands, death and deſtruction to be ſent among 'you.——That it was *he* who received of negroes twelve 'pounds in money—ſtolen money, no doubt (and what he

* From what had hitherto come to light, it could be ſuppoſed no other-wiſe, but that Hughſon was the principal contriver of this monſtrous ſcheme; but nevertheleſs, it was there principally hatched and brought to maturity, as may be gathered from the whole of the diſcovery.

'could not but know to be ſo) to buy arms and ammunition, 'to kill and deſtroy his neighbours: *And that he*, in purſu-'ance thereof, made a journey on purpoſe to buy, and did 'procure arms and ammunition; and hid them in his houſe, 'againſt ſuch time as this unnatural and bloody ſcheme 'ſhould be ripe for execution.

'*Gentlemen*,

'*Such* a monſter will *this Hughſon* appear before you, that 'for ſake of the plunder he expected by ſetting in flames 'the King's houſe, and this whole city, and by the effuſion 'of the blood of his neighbours,—*He*—*murderous* and *re-'morſeleſs he!*—counſelled and encouraged the committing 'of all theſe moſt aſtoniſhing deeds of darkneſs, cruelty, and 'inhumanity.——*Infamous Hughſon!*—

'*Gentlemen*,

'*This is that Hughſon!* whoſe name, and moſt deteſ-'table conſpiracies will no doubt be had in everlaſting 'remembrance, to his eternal reproach; and ſtand recorded 'to lateſt poſterity,——*This* is the man!——*his*, that 'grand incendiary!—*That* arch rebel againſt God, his King, 'and his country!—*That devil incarnate!* and chief agent 'of the old *Abaddon* of the infernal pit, and regions of 'darkneſs.

'*Gentlemen*,

'*Behold* the author, and abettor of all the late conflagra-'tions, terrors, and deveſtation that have befallen this ci-'ty.——Was not *this Hughſon* ſunk below the dignity 'of human nature!—Was he not abandoned to all ſenſe of 'ſhame and remorſe!—To all ſenſe of *feeling* the dreadful 'calamities *he* has brought on this city, and his fellow crea-'tures; *he* would from a conſciouſneſs of his own guilt.—'*His monſtrous guilt!*——be ſo confounded, as not able 'to look up, or ſtand without the greateſt confuſion of face, 'before this court and audience; but would openly confeſs 'his, and the reſt of his wretched confederates guilt, and 'humbly aſk pardon of God, the King, and his injured 'country.

'*Gentlemen*,

'We ſhall now call, and examine the witneſſes, who will 'prove the crimes charged upon each of theſe four crimi-'nals; and when we have ſo done, I doubt not but you 'will find all of them guilty.

Of council for the KING with Mr. Attorney General.

JOSEPH

JOSEPH MURRAY,
JAMES ALEXANDER,
WILLIAM SMITH,
JOHN CHAMBERS,
} Eſqrs.

Theſe gentlemen ſeverally aſſiſted in the examining the witneſſes; taking down their evidence, and remarking ſuch things as they thought moſt material to be obſerved upon to the court and jury.

Witneſſes for the KING.

Mr. *George Joſeph Moore*, clerk in court, and Mr. *John Rooſevelt* called and ſworn.

Mr. *Moore* proved the arraignment and conviction of the two negroes, *Quack* and *Cuffee*, for burning the King's houſe in the fort, and Mr. *Philipſe*'s ſtorehouſe.

Both witneſſes prove the confeſſions of thoſe two negroes, taken in writing at the ſtake, 'that they declared, that '*Hughſon* was the firſt contriver and promoter of the plot, 'and urged them into it; and that they ſhould never have 'thought of it, if he had not put it into their heads, that '*Quack* ſaid, the plot was to burn the houſes.'

Mr. *Moore* proved *Cuffee*'s confeſſion, more particularly taken in writing by him, 'that, as *Quack* ſaid, the plot was 'to burn the houſes of the town; *Cuffee* ſaid likewiſe, that '*the plot was to kill the people*; and that both of them de-'clared, that what Mary Burton *had given in evidence upon* '*their trials, was true*; *and that ſhe could name many more* '[perſons] *concerned*: All which Mr. *Rooſevelt* confirmed *.

*Court* to the priſoners. Have you any queſtions to aſk theſe witneſſes?

The priſoners anſwered nothing.

*Joſeph North*, *Peter Lynch*, and *John Dunſcomb*, called and ſworn.

*North* and *Lynch* proved, 'that there was a cabal of ne-'groes at *Hughſon*'s laſt Whitſontide was twelve months, 'ten, twelve, or fourteen of them; which they having intelli-'gence of, went down thither in order to diſperſe them; 'and when they came there, they went into the room where 'the negroes were round a table, eating and drinking, for 'there was meat on the table, and knives and forks; and 'the negroes were calling for what they wanted; and at 'their appearance the negroes were making off as faſt as they 'could; and *North* laid his cane about them, and ſoon

* See the confeſſions before annexed to the trials of Quack and Cuffee, 30th May.

'cleared the room of them: They ſaid, they thought that 'Peggy was waiting upon them, and had a tumbler in her 'hand for them to drink in; that they ſaw the negro, who 'was then hanged in gibbets † at that time waiting at the 'door, in order to get in, as they took it: That they had 'heard frequent complaints of *Hughſon*'s entertaining negroes 'there; they ſaid, that *John Hughſon* was at the door, and 'as they came away, they reproached him therewith; who 'anſwered them, that he could not help it, *'twas his miſtreſs's fault.*

*Court* to the priſoners. Have you any queſtions to aſk theſe witneſſes?

They had nothing to aſk.

*MARY BURTON* called and ſworn.

She ſaid, 'That there were many negroes frequently at '*Hughſon*'s at nights, ever ſince ſhe came to the houſe, eating and drinking; that ſhe has ſeen twenty and thirty at 'a time there; but moſt of a ſunday; that the negroes 'uſed to bring proviſions there, particularly *Carpenter*'s 'negro; * that *Hughſon*, his *wife* and *daughter*, and *Peggy*, 'uſed, at ſuch meetings, frequently to be amongſt the negroes; and that they talked of burning the town and killing 'the white people.

[While *Mary Burton* was delivering her evidence, *Hughſon* and his *wife* were crying and bemoaning themſelves, and embracing and kiſſing their daughter *Sarah*; and *Hughſon* the father intimated what care they had taken in catechiſing her, and the reſt of their children, *and teaching them to read the Bible*, and breeding them up in the fear of the Lord. And in order (as may be ſuppoſed) to move compaſſion in the court and jury, *Hughſon*'s wife brought thither a ſucking child at her breaſt, which was ordered to be taken away.]

*Mary Burton* further ſaid, 'that at ſuch great meetings of 'negroes at *Hughſon*'s, *Cæſar* (VAARCK's) and *Prince* '(AUBOYNEAU's) negroes (that were hanged) and *Caſſa* '(PHILIPSE's) were uſually amongſt them.

'That *Hughſon* SWORE the negroes into the plot; and 'the *Hughſons* ſwore themſelves and *Peggy*; that one of '*Hughſon*'s daughters carried *a bible up ſtairs*, and the *Hughſons* carried the negroes into a private room; and when 'they came down again to the reſt of the negroes, *Hughſon* ſaid,

† Vaarck's Cæſar. * His miſtreſs was a butcher.

'they were all ſworn; but the witneſs ſaid, ſhe did not ſee 'them ſworn.

[Upon the witneſs ſaying, that *a Bible was carried up ſtairs*, *Hughſon*'s wife interrupted, and ſaid to her, as if much ſurprized, *now you are ſpoiled all as a grand jury, for we never had a bible in the houſe*: Which the audience (conſidering what her huſband declared but a little before) were much diverted with.]

*Mary Burton* further ſaid, 'that ſhe ſaw VAARCK's *Ceſar* pay *John Hughſon* twelve pounds in ſilver Spaniſh pieces 'of eight, to buy guns, ſwords, and piſtols; and that *Hughſon* thereupon went up into the country; and when he returned, he brought with him ſeven or eight guns and 'ſwords, and that he hid them in the houſe; that ſhe had 'ſeen a bag of ſhot, and a barrel of gunpowder there; that 'the negroes were ſworn to burn the fort firſt; and then they 'were to go down to the *Fly*, and ſo burn the whole town; and 'the negroes were to cut their maſters and miſtreſſes throats; 'and when all this done, *Hughſon* was to be *king*, and *Ceſar* (VAARCK's) *governor*: That the negroes uſed to ſay 'to *Hughſon*, when ſhe (the witneſs) was in the room, and 'heard them talking of burning the town and killing the people, that perhaps ſhe (the witneſs) would tell; and '*Hughſon* ſaid, *No, that ſhe dared not*; and the negroes 'ſwore, *that if ſhe did, they would burn, or deſtroy her.*

'That the *Hughſons* often tempted her to ſwear, and 'offered her ſilks and gold rings, in order to prevail with 'her; but ſhe would not *.

[The priſoners aſked the witneſſes no material queſtions, ſuch only as ſeemed rather to imply their guilt; but ſome of them threw up their hands, and caſt up their eyes, as if aſtoniſhed, and ſaid, ſhe was a very wicked creature, and proteſted all ſhe ſaid was falſe.] AR-

* Some time after the trial was entered upon, the town was again alarmed by a fire in the lots behind the ſtonehouſes of Meſſrs. Philipſes; a boarded ſtable was ſet on fire on the outſide, by ſome brands ends being placed againſt it; but it was ſuppreſſed before it had got to any head, though the Incendiary was undiſcovered. This was a bold attempt after all that had happened, and was conjectured to be a ſcheme contrived in favour of the Hughſons, &c. upon a ſuppoſition, that the court might be put into ſo much confuſion upon the occaſion, that thoſe criminals might thereby have an opportunity of making their eſcape; or at leaſt the trial be thereby interrupted and poſtpon'd. But if theſe were their deſigns, they were diſappointed.——This note rather than it ſhould be omitted remains here miſplaced, as it was at firſt: becauſe ſome people had affirmed, that this fire happen'd upon the Hughſon's trial for the conſpiracy; whereas upon further enquiry and recollection, when the printer had gone beyond it, 'twas found to have been on the 6th of May, the day the Hughſons were tried upon the felony for receiving ſtolen goods.

ARTHUR PRICE called and ſworn.

His evidence was the ſubſtance of his depoſitions, Nos. I. II. III. of the 3d, 7th and 12th *May*, as to what paſſed in converſation in the jail between him and *Peggy*, *Hughſon* the daughter, and Mr. *Philipſe's Cuffee* ſeparately; and therefore to avoid repetition, the reader is referred to them.

*John Schultz*, *James Mills*, *Peter Lynch*, *Cornelius Brower*, and ——— *Dunſcomb* called and ſworn.

*Schultz* ſaid, 'That *Cuffee* (PHILIPSE's negro) being carried with *Quack* immediately after their conviction into 'the priſon, where *Hughſon* and his *wife* were, as he came 'in, ſaid to *Hughſon*, *ſue may thank you for this, for this is 'what you have brought us to*; and that *Cuffee* owned the 'next day to the witneſs that he had ſaid ſo.'

*Mills* ſaid, 'That *Cuffee* ſaid to *Hughſon*, *I may thank 'you for this, for you have brought me to this.*'

*Brower* ſaid, 'That *Cuffee* ſaid, *I thank you for this, you 'have brought me to this.*'

*Dunſcomb*, *Schultz*, *Lynch* and *Mills*, all ſaid, 'That laſt 'monday *Hughſon* ſaid, *he wanted to ſpeak to the judge, 'and open his heart to them*, and they ſhould know more; 'and was very urgent that ſomebody ſhould go to the judges to acquaint them therewith.'

*Court* to the priſoners. If you have any queſtions to aſk theſe witneſſes, now is your time to propoſe them; or if you have any witneſſes to produce to your characters, let them be called.

Witneſſes for the priſoners.

*Eleanor Ryan*, Mr. *Blanck*, and *Peter Kirby* called.

*Eleanor Ryan* * ſaid, 'That ſhe and her huſband lodged 'two months in *Hughſon*'s houſe laſt winter; that ſhe ſaw 'no negroes there, but *Cuffee* (Philipſe's) and the negro 'that was hung in gibbets, three or four times; that ſhe 'never ſaw any entertainments there for negroes; but ſaid, 'that ſhe lay ſick in bed in the kitchin almoſt day and night 'all that time."

Mr. *Blanck* ſaid, 'he ſaw *Hughſon* give a dram to a negro, but that he thought him a civil man.'

* Wife of Andrew Ryan, a ſoldier, afterwards charged as one of the conſpirators, and committed.

Peter

*Peter Kirby* ſaid, 'That he knew nothing of the character of *Hughſon*'s houſe, but he *never* ſaw *no* harm of him.'

*Francis Sylveſter*, called, and ſworn for the KING. He ſaid, 'That when *John Hughſon* lived next door to 'him upon the dock, he kept a very diſorderly houſe, and 'ſold liquor to, and entertained negroes there; he had often ſeen many of them there at a time, at nights, as well 'as in the day time: once in particular he remembers, in 'the evening he ſaw a great many of them in a room, dancing to a fiddle, and *Hughſon*'s *wife* and *daughter* along with them. That he often reproached *Hughſon* with keeping ſuch a diſorderly houſe, which very much offended 'his neighbours; and *Hughſon* replied to him, *that his 'wife had perſuaded him* to leave the country, where he 'ſubſiſted his family tolerably well by his trade * and his 'farm; but his wife ſaid, they would live much better in 'town, though then he wiſhed they had returned to the 'country again, for he found their gains were ſo ſmall, 'and his family ſo large, that they ſoon run away with 'what they had got; *That his wife was the chief cauſe of 'having the negroes at his houſe; and he was afraid ſome 'misfortune would happen to him, and that he ſhould come 'to ſome untimely end*: or that *Hughſon* expreſſed himſelf in 'words to that effect.'

*Court* to the priſoners, Have you any more witneſſes?

Priſoners. *Yes, Sir; we deſire that* Adam King, *and* Gerardus Comfort, *may be called.*

*Adam King*, and *Gerardus Comfort*, called.

*King* ſaid, 'That of late he took *Hughſon*'s houſe to be 'diſorderly; for he ſaw whole companies of negroes playing at dice there; and that *Wincoop*'s negro once carried 'a ſilver ſpoon there that was hammered down; that he ſaw 'no harm of the man himſelf.'

*Attorney General* [to *Hughſon*] Have you any more ſuch witneſſes as this?

*Comfort* ſaid, 'That he ſaw nothing amiſs of him; his buſineſs was a cooper, and that he was often abroad, and 'went very ſeldom to his houſe.'

*Court*. Mr. *Comfort*, you are a next door neighbour to *Hughſon*; you live oppoſite to him, and ſurely you muſt have ſeen negroes go in and out there often, as the witneſſes

* He was by trade a ſhoemaker.

have teſtified, that there were frequent caballings with the negroes there; pray what have you obſerved of the houſe ſince *Hughſon* came to live there?

*Comfort.* I have ſeen nothing amiſs; I have ſeen no harm there.

Court [to the priſoners]. *Have you any more witneſſes?*

*Hughſon.* We have no more, ſir.

Court. *Then now is the time for you the priſoners, ſeverally to offer what you can in your own defence, that then the counſel for the King may ſum up the evidence.*

Then the priſoners ſeverally ſpoke in their juſtification in their turns; proteſted their innocence, and declared that all the witneſſes ſaid againſt them was falſe; and called upon God to witneſs their aſſeverations.

Mr. SMITH then proceeded as follows,

'*May it pleaſe your honours, and you gentlemen of the jury;*

'You have heard the charge againſt the priſoners at the 'bar contained in their ſeveral indictments, to which they 'have each of them pleaded *not guilty*. Mr. Attorney has 'opened the nature of the evidence on the part of the King, 'and the witneſſes on both ſides have been heard, and I 'cannot think that one among you is in any doubt concern- 'ing what verdict you ought to give upon the oath which 'you have taken.

'*Gentlemen,*

'Scarce any thing can be conceived more horrid than 'the crimes charged on the priſoners. A ſcheme ſo black 'and helliſh, as *the burning of this city, and the murdering the 'inhabitants of it!* one would hardly imagine could enter 'into the thought, much leſs be harboured in the breaſt of 'any human creature; but more wonderful is it, that ſo 'great a number ſhould unite and conſpire in ſo deteſtable 'a piece of villainy: and yet, *gentlemen*, there ſeems no- 'thing wanting to complete the evidence that *ſo barbarous, unjuſt and cruel a deſign* has been ſet on foot; of which we 'have had in part an ocular demonſtration, in the late fires 'that have been enkindled in diverſe parts of this city; ſe- 'veral of which have been lighted up in one day, to the 'amazement and terror of the people.

'*Gentlemen,*

'Though the circumſtances attending theſe fires con- 'vinced every body that the moſt of them did not proceed 'from accidental cauſes, but from a malicious and wilful

'der

'deſign; yet it was long before any conſiderable diſcovery 'could be made, of the authors and abettors of this moſt 'wicked and deſtructive undertaking: yet at length, by the 'bleſſing of heaven, and the uncommon diligence of the 'magiſtrates, we truſt that ſome of the principal authors 'of this miſchief, and the ringleader of it, are now before 'you.'

Upon this Mr. *Smith* proceeded to a diſtinct conſideration of the charge, and in obſerving upon the evidence of the witneſſes (which was in ſubſtance as before ſet forth) diſtinguiſhed the proofs againſt each of the priſoners; which for brevity ſake are here omitted.

And then concluded.

'THUS, *Gentlemen*, nothing remains to be conſidered 'of by you, but the credit of the witneſſes; againſt which 'I can ſee no reaſonable objection: if they are to be believ-'ed, then the priſoners are guilty; and you now behold 'at this bar, the authors, abettors, and contrivers of thoſe 'deſtructive fires which your eyes have ſeen: two of the 'immediate agents of thoſe villainies, have already ſuffered 'a deſerved puniſhment, and died confeſſing their crimes. 'The witneſſes declare the principal contriver of thoſe miſ-'chiefs to be that wicked man *John Hughſon*, whoſe crimes 'have made him blacker than a negro; the ſcandal of his 'complexion, and the diſgrace of human nature! whoſe 'name will deſcend with infamy to poſterity! who could 'not be content to live by the gains of an honeſt induſtry; 'but muſt be rich at the expence of the blood and ruin of 'his fellow citizens! Miſerable wretch! How has he plung-'ed himſelf and family into that pit which he has dug for 'others, and brought down upon his own pate that violent 'dealing which he contrived, and in part executed againſt 'his neighbours! *Gentlemen*, though the crimes charged on 'the defendants are ſuch as merit a juſt indignation; yet in 'matters that affect life, you ought to have the moſt con-'vincing evidence: the trial of the fact is your province. 'In matters of judgment to condemn the innocent, and 'acquit the guilty, is equally criminal. If you can, after 'what you have heard, think the priſoners innocent, you 'ought to acquit them; but if you find them guilty, you 'cannot acquit them without the greateſt injuſtice and cru-'elty to your country and yourſelves. *Gentlemen*, I ſhall 'add no more, but leave you to the direction of the court 'and your own conſciences.'

Then the third juſtice charged the jury as followeth.

'*Gentlemen of the jury*,

'It is needleſs for the court to obſerve further to you, 'after what has been ſaid by the council for the King, con- 'cerning the nature and deſtructive tendency of ſo execra- 'ble a piece of villainy, as this conſpiracy now charged up- 'on the priſoners at the bar: it has been ſufficiently and 'properly enlarged upon; nor is it any more neceſſary for 'the court to recapitulate the evidence given in the caſe; 'for that has been very clearly ſtated by the gentlemen at 'the bar.

'Now, *Gentlemen*, if you cannot credit the ſeveral wit- 'neſſes for the King, if that can be the caſe, you will then 'acquit the priſoners of the charge againſt them, and find 'them not guilty; but on the other hand, as the evidence 'againſt them ſeems to be ſo ample, ſo full, ſo clear, and 'ſatisfactory, if you have no particular reaſons in your own 'breaſts, in your own conſciences, to diſcredit them; if 'that, I ſay, is not the caſe; if you have no reaſon to diſ- 'credit them; then I make no doubt, but you will diſ- 'charge a good conſcience, and find them guilty.

A conſtable being ſworn to attend the jury, they with- drew; and being returned in a ſhort time, found *Hughſon, his wife*, and *Kerry*, GUILTY of all three indictments; and *Sarah Hughſon* the daughter, GUILTY of the ſecond and third.

Supreme Court.

*FRIDAY*, 17*th* APRIL.

PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

Court opened and adjourned till four o'clock in the after- noon.

*P. M.*

PRESENT, *as before.*

Court opened and adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

*Exami-*

*Examination of* Sarah (*Mrs.* BURK'S *negro*)

*Before the Grand Jury.*

NUMB. III.

*She said,*

1. 'THAT the company at *Comfort*'s, who were there 'when they whetted their knives, and said, would 'burn the houses, and kill the white people, were,

| | |
|---|---|
| *Jack*, | Comfort's negroes. |
| *Cook*, the old man, | |
| *Sandy* or *Sawney*, | Niblet's. |
| *Robin*, | Chambers's. |
| *Harry*, | Old Kipp's. |
| *A tall negro*, | a stranger of Dewit's. |
| *Antonio*, | Peter de Lancey's. |
| *Curacoa Dick*, | |
| *Prince*, | Auboyneau's. |
| *Cuffee*, | Philipse's. |
| *Quack*, | Roosevelt's. |
| *Brash*, | Mrs. Jay's. |
| *Tom*, (old) | Rowe's. |
| *Warwick*, | Hunt's. |
| *Five or six Spanish negroes.* | |

2. 'That the following negroes were at *Comfort*'s also, 'but went away before the talk aforesaid.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Harry*, | Dr. Fisher's. |
| *Jemmy*, | Bagley's. |
| *A tall slender fellow*, | Widow Schuyler's. |
| *Tom*, | Abeel's. |
| *Betty*, | Clopper's. |

went with *Sarah* to the house, and afterwards went away with *Comfort*'s Jenny.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Jenny* | Comfort's. |
| *Tom*, | Clarkson's. |
| * *Mink*, | Groesbeck's. |
| * *Patrick*, | English's. |
| *Tom*, | Brinkerhoff's. |
| * *Bill*, | Ten Eyck's. |
| *Sambo*, | Sylvester's. |
| * *Braveboy*, | Kierstede's. |
| *Jenny* | Hunt's. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| * *Cato*, | Shurmur's. | |
| * *Pompey*, | Lefferts's. † | |

3. At the same time brought the Spanish negroes following, before *Sarah*, who said, before *Sandy*, who said,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Joseph* or *Will*, | of Filkins's, | was there, | was not, |
| *Pablo*, | Benson's, | was, | was, |
| *Juan*, | Sarly's, | was not, | was, |
| *Antonio*, | Meinard's, | was not, | was, |
| *Antonio*, | De Lancey's, | was, | was, |
| *Francis*, | Bosch's, | was not, | was, |
| *Manuel*, | Windover's, | was not, | was, |
| *Augustine*, | M'Mullen's, | was not, | was not, |
| *John*, | Dr. Nicol's, | was not, | was, |

*Said* Sarah *declared also*,

4. 'That *Curacoa Dick* and Comfort's *Jack* were principal speakers, that they would burn the houses and kill 'the white people; whetting their knives, and saying, they 'were sharp enough for that purpose.

5. That *Curacoa Dick* was the person who asked her to 'go to *Comfort*'s house; and in going she met *Clopper*'s 'wench going also, and went in with her.

6. That *Acco*, alias *Cook* (Comfort's old man) cursed her 'and wished thunder might strike her, if she discovered.

7. 'Being asked if *Cuffee* (Gomes's) was at *Comfort*'s? 'she said she was not.

8. 'That *Antonio* (De Lancey's Spaniard) seemed very 'forward when at *Comfort*'s, and talked much to *Curacoa* '*Dick* *.

9. 'That the meeting was at *Comfort*'s shop.

10. 'That they then there did talk of and resolve in particular, *that Quack should put the fort on fire.*

## Supreme Court.

### SATURDAY, 6th JUNE.

### PRESENT,

*The second and third Justices.*

† Here she differs from her examination, NUMB. II. before one of the judges on monday last, as to the persons she would excuse, by pretending that they went away before the talk of the conspiracy: those marked with an * Asterick here, were not excepted by her in the last.

* It was said, Curacoa Dick could talk Spanish, and that Antonio could talk some English.

The KING,
*against*
Jack, Cook, Robin, Cæsar, Curee, Jamaica, } Comfort, Chambers, Peck, Gomez, Ellison, } Negroes.

THE prisoners being set to the bar, were arraigned on an indictment for conspiring, combining and confederating with divers negroes, to burn the whole town and city of *New-York*; and to kill and destroy the inhabitants thereof; and pleaded, *not guilty*: And for their trials put themselves upon God and the country.

Court adjourned to monday, the 8th instant, ten o'clock in the morning.

Supreme Court.

*MONDAY*, 8th JUNE.

PRESENT,

*The second and third Justices.*

The KING,
*against*
John Hughson,
Sarah, *his wife*,
Margaret Sorubiero, *alias* Kerry.
Sarah Hughson *the daughter.*

THE prisoners being called up to judgment upon their conviction for the conspiracy, and placed at the bar, the second justice proceeded to pass sentence, as followeth.

John Hughson, *and you the rest of the prisoners at the bar,*

'You are now brought before this court to receive that 'sentence which the law has appointed for your offences; 'though I cannot say the punishment is adequate to the hor-'rid crimes of which you stand convicted. The *Roman* com-'mon-wealth was established some hundred years before any 'law was made against parricide; they not thinking any per-'son capable of so atrocious a crime. Yours are indeed as 'singular, and unheard of before; they are such as one 'would scarce believe any man capable of committing, espe-'cially

'cially any one who had heard of a God, and of a future 'ſtate: For people who have been brought up, and always 'lived in a chriſtian country, and alſo called themſelves Chriſ'tians, to be guilty not only of making negro ſlaves their 'equals, but even their ſuperiors, by waiting upon, keeping 'with, and entertaining them, with meat, drink, and lodg'ing; and what is much more amazing, to plot, conſpire, 'conſult, abet and encourage theſe black *ſeed of Cain*, to 'burn this city, and to kill and deſtroy us all:—Good God! 'When I reflect on the diſorders, confuſion, deſolation and 'havock, which the effect of your moſt wicked, moſt deteſta'ble and diabolical councils might have produced (had not the 'hand of our great and good God interpoſed) it ſhocks me! 'for you, who would have burnt and deſtroyed without mer'cy, ought to be ſerved in a like manner: And although each 'of you have, with an uncommon aſſurance, denied the fact, 'and audaciouſly called upon God as a witneſs of your inno'cence; yet it hath pleaſed him, out of his unbounded 'goodneſs and mercy to us, to confound your devices, and 'cauſe your malicious and wicked machinations and inten'tions to be laid open and clear before us, not only to the 'ſatisfaction and conviction of the court, the grand and pet'ty jury, but likewiſe to every one elſe that has heard the e'vidence againſt you; all are ſatisfied the juſt judgment of 'God has overtaken you, and that you juſtly merit a more 'ſevere death than is intended for you, having, in my opini'on, been much worſe than the negroes: however, though 'your crimes deſerve it, yet we muſt not act contrary to law.

'And now I do moſt earneſtly exhort you, and each of 'you, to a ſerious and diligent improvement of the little 'time you have yet to live on this ſide of eternity, duly and 'heartily to weigh and conſider your paſt wicked and ill-ſpent 'lives, by bewailing, confeſſing and ſincerely repenting of 'your ſins; that thereby you may obtain mercy and forgive'neſs from our great and juſt God; for without a ſincere, 'as well as contrite heart, you can neither expect mercy or 'forgiveneſs for your manifold offences, both againſt God 'and your neighbours.

'I muſt now ſpeak particularly *to you John Hughſon*, and '*to you Sarah Hughſon*: Look upon your poor unhappy 'daughter, now ſtanding by you, of whom you have been 'the miſerable inſtruments of bringing into the world; af'ter that, to train and bring her up in the ſchool of the de'vil, and now laſtly, to the gallows.—I ſay, conſider and

'ſet

'set her a good example, in a time when every moment is 'precious to you, that the great deceiver of mankind may 'not have the same power over you all in the next world, 'as he seems to have had in this,

'I must now proceed to the duty the law requires of me; 'which is to tell you,

'That you, the prisoners now at the bar, be removed to 'the place from whence you came, and from thence to the 'place of execution, and there you, and each of you, are 'to be hanged by the neck till you are severally dead; and 'I pray God of his goodness, to have mercy on your souls.'

*Ordered*, That the said condemned persons be executed on friday the twelfth of *June* instant, between the hours of nine and one of the same day; and that the body of *John Hughson* be afterwards hung in chains.

The KING, *against*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jack, | Comfort's | Negroes. |
| Cook, | | |
| Robin, | Chambers's | |
| Cæsar, | Peck's | |
| Cuffee, | Gomez's | |
| Jamaica, | Ellison's | |

*On trial upon indictment for the conspiracy.*

Jury called, and the prisoners challenging none, the following jurors sworn.

| | |
|---|---|
| *William Smith*, | *Daniel Dunscomb*, |
| *Joseph Sacket*, | *Isaac Twentyman*, |
| *John Shurmur*, | *Sidney Breese*, |
| *Josiah Millikan*, | *Peter Vandursen*, |
| *Isaac Van Dam*, | *Benjamin Thomas*, |
| *James Tucker*, | *John Robins*. |

Of council for the KING.

Mr. Attorney General.
Joseph Murray, } Esqrs.
John Chambers, }

The attorney general, after having opened the indictment against these six negroes, spoke briefly as follows.

'*Gentlemen*,

'It will, I doubt not, appear to you, upon hearing our 'witnesses for the King on this trial, that these six negroes

'are

'are some of the conspirators who combined with the principal incendiaries, *Hughes* and his family, to set on fire the King's house, and this whole town, and to kill and murder the inhabitants.

'But as I have already, upon the trial of the negro [illegible] for burning the King's house, and of another negro called *Cuffee*, for burning Mr. *Philipse*'s store-house, and likewise on the last trial of *Hughes*, *Ury*, *Mitchell* deceased, and *Kerry*, endeavoured to set forth the dreadful nature of this horrible and detestable conspiracy, and the danger the city and province may still be exposed to, and examples are made of all such as have been concerned in this wicked plot; I think I have no need upon this trial, to say any thing further on either of these heads; not doubting but when you have heard the crimes which those criminals stand charged with, proved against them, you will find them guilty.'

Witnesses called for the KING.

Mr. *George Joseph Moore*, } Sworn.
Mr. *John Roosevelt*, }
*Mary Burton*, }
*Sandy*, Niblet's } Negroes.
*Sarah*, Burk's }
*Fortune*, Wilkins's }

Mr. *Moore* and Mr. *Roosevelt* proved the confession of *Quack* (Roosevelt's) and *Cuffee* (Philipse's) at the stake.

*Evidence affecting* Jack *and* Cook (COMFORT's). *one or both of them.*

*Quack*'s confession, } 4, 11, 30th *May.*
*Cuffee*'s confession, } 30th *May.*
*Sandy*'s examination, NUMB. I. 22d *May.*
II. 25th *May.*
III. 1st *June.*
*Sarah* (Burk's) exam. NUMB. II. 1st *June.*
III. 5th *June.*

*Sawney* said, upon the trial, 'That *Jack* was to be a captain; 'that he asked him to help burn houses; and said as soon as 'the fort was burnt, they would kill the white men: That 'Jack swore six *Spaniards*, [Spanish slaves] and the rest 'were to come next day to be sworn.

'That it was agreed among them that *Cook* was to be an 'officer.

'That this meeting was of a sunday when *Comfort* was 'not at home.

*Mary*

'*Mary Burton* said, *Jack* and *Cook* used to be at the 'meetings at *Hughson*'s, where they were talking of firing 'the town and murdering the people, and were against that 'consenting; but that she did not hear them further 'discourse [upon that head]. *Sarah* (Burk's) said likewise, that it was agreed among 'them that *Jack* should be a captain.

*Evidence affecting* Robin (Hughson's.)

*Quack*'s confession, being returned 30*th May*.
*Cuffee*'s confession. 30*th May*.
*Sandy*'s examination, Numb. III. 1*st June*.
*Sarah* (Burk's) exam. Numb. III. 3. 1*st June*.
III. 5. 5*th June*.

*Sandy* and *Sarah* both said, 'that *Robin* was at the meeting at *Comfort*'s [mentioned in both their examinations.]

*Sandy* said, *Robin* had a knife there, and sharpened it; 'and consented to help kill the white men, and to take their 'wives.'

Mr. Chambers examined the witnesses against *Jack*, *Cook* and *Robin*,
And summed up.

*Evidence affecting* Cuffee (Gomez's)

*Quack*'s confession, § 2, 7, 30*th May*.
*Cuffee*'s confession, § 3, 5. 30*th May*.
*Sandy*'s examination, Numb. I. § 11. 22*d May*.
*Fortune*'s examination, I. § 6. 22*d May*.
*Sandy*'s examination, III. § 7, 8. 1*st June*.

*Evidence affecting* Cæsar (Huck's)

*Cuffee*'s confession at the stake, § 5. 30*th May*.
*Quack*'s confession, § 4, 7. 30*th May*.
*Sandy*'s examination, Numb. II. § 1, 2. 25*th May*.
III. § 8. 1*st June*.

*Sawney* said upon the trial, 'That *Cæsar* declared, he 'would kill the white men, and drink their blood to their 'good healths: This about a fortnight or three weeks before 'the fort was burnt.'

*Evidence affecting* Jamaica (Ellison's.)

*Mary Burton*'s Deposition, Numb. II. § 4. 13*th May*.

She testified against him further at the trial, 'That he 'used to be very forward at the meetings at *Hughson*'s in talk 'about the conspiracy, and that particularly once when they '[the conspirators] were talking of burning the town and 'killing the people; *Jamaica* (being a fidler) said, he would 'dance [or play] over them while they were roasting in the 'flames; and said, he had been slave long enough.'

Mr.

Mr. MURRAY examined the witneſſes againſt *Cuffe*, *Ceſar*, and *Jamaica*; And ſummed up.

There was nothing material in the defence of any of the priſoners; they aſked the witneſſes now and then a few trifling queſtions; and denied all that was alledged againſt them.

The jury being charged, and having withdrawn; and, after a ſhort ſtay, being returned, found the ſix negroes guilty of the indictment.

Then the court, after admonition to the criminals, proceeded to paſs ſentence on them as followeth, *viz.*

'That *Jack*, *Cook*, *Robin*, *Cæſar*, *Cuffee* and *Jamaica*, ſhould be carried from thence to the place from whence 'they came, and thence to the place of execution, where 'the ſaid *Jack*, *Cook*, *Robin*, *Cæſar* and *Cuffee*, ſhould be 'chained to a ſtake, and burnt until they ſhould be ſeverally dead: And that the ſaid *Jamaica* ſhould be then 'hanged, *&c.*'

*Ordered*, That *Jack*, *Cook*, *Robin*, *Cæſar*, and *Cuffee*, be executed on the morrow, the 9th inſtant, between the hours of one and ſeven of the afternoon of the ſame day: And that *Jamaica* be executed on friday the 12th inſtant, between the hours of nine and one of the ſame day.

The KING,
*againſt*
Tom Peal *alias* Baſtian,
Francis, Bosch's
Albany, *and* } *Negroes.*
Curaçoa Dick,

The priſoners being placed at the bar, were arraigned on an indictment for conſpiring, *&c.* with divers negro ſlaves and others, to burn the whole town and city of *New-York*; and alſo to kill and deſtroy the inhabitants thereof; whereunto they ſeverally pleaded *not guilty*, *&c.*

Court adjourned to to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

THIS evening capt. *Jack* (COMFORT's negro) condemned, among others, to be executed to-morrow afternoon, had cauſed to be ſignified to the judges, that if his life might be ſpared, he would diſcover all that he knew of the conſpiracy: From the courſe of the evidence there was reaſon to conclude, that he had been a moſt truſty and diligent agent for *Hughſon*; he lived very near him; and his maſter

was

was frequently abſent from home for days and weeks together, which left him too much at liberty; and there was a well in his yard whereto many negroes reſorted every day, morning and afternoon, to fetch tea water: and *Hughſon*, no doubt, thought he had carried a great point when he had ſeduced capt. *Jack* to his infamous ſchemes; for this gave him the greateſt opportunities of corrupting his fellow ſlaves; and *Jack* was a crafty, ſubtle fellow, very well qualified for ſuch an enterprize, *and might be captivated with the fine promiſes and hopes given him of being not only free, but a great man; a commander in this band of fools*; of whom the greateſt knaves perhaps (like fools too) *projected to make a prey in the end:* it was therefore thought proper, as this myſtery of iniquity was yet but beginning to be unfolded, ſo far to accept *Jack*'s offer as to reſpite his execution, till it was found how well he would deſerve further favour.

*Jack* was examined before the judges in the afternoon; and was under examination the next day, when his fellow criminals were carrying from the city hall to their execution: he was adviſed not to flatter himſelf with the hopes of life, without he would do the utmoſt in his power to deſerve it; and that would be by telling freely all that he knew of the matter, and diſcovering all the parties concerned to the beſt of his knowledge: he was told we were already let ſo far into this ſecret, as to perſons and things, as to be able to give a good gueſs, whether he ſpoke the truth; and he would but deceive himſelf in the end if he told falſhoods.—*Jack* looked very ſerious, and at length began to open; but his dialect was ſo perfectly negro and unintelligible, it was thought, that it would be impoſſible to make any thing of him without the help of an interpreter.—There were two young men, ſons-in-law to *Jack*'s maſter, who were aware *Jack* would not be underſtood without their aid; and they ſignified their deſire of being by when he was examined, upon a ſuppoſition, that they might be of ſervice in interpreting his meaning, as he had been uſed to them, having often worked in the ſame ſhop together at the cooper's trade, whereby he was ſo familiarized to them, they could make a ſhift to underſtand his language; and they thought they had ſuch an influence over him, that they were perſuaded, they could alſo prevail upon him to make an ingenuous confeſſion; and to do them juſtice, they were very ſerviceable in both reſpects; and the event well anſwered the expectation they had given.—But notwithſtanding

this affiſtance, his examination took up as much time of three ſucceſſive days, morning and afternoon, as could conveniently be ſpared him from other buſineſs.

Several negroes concerned in the conſpiracy, having been diſcovered by *Jack* at this firſt ſitting, were apprehended the next morning early, purſuant to orders then immediately given; but there was not time to commit his confeſſion to writing this evening, yet it is thought proper to ſet the ſame forth as of this day.—*Jack* deſired he might be removed from the cell where his fellow criminals, condemned with him, were lodged, and his requeſt was granted.

*Examination and confeſſion of* Jack (Comfort's)

*Before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. I.

*He ſaid,*

1. 'THAT a little after new-year, on a monday, 'about four in the afternoon, *Ben* * (captain 'Marſhall's negro) came to *Comfort*'s houſe to fetch tea wa'ter, where he left his cag in the ſhop, and went to *Hugh'ſon*'s houſe (*Hughſon* and *his wife* then gone into the coun'try) *Ben* ſtaid about two hours there, and then returned 'to *Comfort*'s, and told *Jack*, that he had met there ſix 'Spaniards, among whom were *Anthony* and *Wan* † (now 'in goal) and ſaid to him, Countryman, I have heard ſome 'good news: What news, ſaid *Jack*? *Ben* ſaid, *there were* 'Spaniſh negroes at Hughſon's, who told him, they had de'ſigns of taking this country againſt the wars came: What 'would they do with this country, ſaid *Jack*? To which 'Ben anſwered, Oh! you fool, *thoſe* Spaniards *know better* 'than York *negroes*, and could help better to take it than 'they; becauſe they were more uſed to war; but they muſt 'begin firſt to ſet the houſe [i. e. the houſes] on fire.

2. 'That the ſunday following, *Hughſon* and *his wife* 'came home, and brought a gooſe, a quarter of mutton, 'and a fowl home. That *Ben* came a little after church 'out, in the afternoon, to *Comfort*'s, and told him, *Bro'ther, go to Hughſon*'s, all our company is come down: 'he went with *Ben* thither, and went round the houſe, and

* Jack's deſcription of Ben: his maſter lives in Tall houſe Broadway. Ben ride de fat horſe.

† Mr. Peter de Lancey's (See § 28) and capt. Sarly's.

'went

'went in at the back door; when he came there, they sat 'all round the table, and had a goose, a quarter of mut- 'ton, and a fowl, two loaves of bread: *Hughson* took a 'flask of rum out of a case, and set it on the table, and 'two bowls of punch were made; some drank a dram: a 'cloth was laid:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Quash*, | H. Rutgers's negro. |
| *Cæsar*, | Kortright's. |
| *Prince*, | Spanish negro. |
| *Toby* or *Cata* | Provoost's. |
| *Cato*, | Shurmur's. |
| *Cook*, | Comfort's. |
| *John*, | Vaarck's. |
| *York*, | Marschalk's. |
| *London*, | |
| *Ticklepitcher*, | Carpenter's. |
| *Francis*, | Bosch's. |
| *Bastian* alias *Tom Peal*, | |
| *Scipio*, | *Mrs.* Van Borsom's. |
| *Ben*, | *Capt.* Marshall's. |

'were all present, and also *six* Spanish *negroes*, among whom 'were *Wan* and *Anthony*, and a negro lately belonging to 'John *Marschalk*, the three others he should know if he 'saw them: *Hughson*, and *his wife* and *daughter* sat down 'on one side of the table, and the negroes on the other: 'two or three tables were put together to make it long: '*Hughson*'s daughter brought in the victuals, and just as 'he came in, *Sarah* brought the cloth and laid it; *Mary* 'Burton did not come into the room; but *Hughson* said, 'she was above making a bed; *Peggy* came down stairs, 'and sat down by *Hughson*'s wife at the table, and eat 'with them; when they were eating, *they began all to talk* 'about *setting the houses on fire*; and *Hughson* asked *Ben*, 'who would be the head man or captain for to rise? *Ben* 'said, *yes*, he would stand for that; and said, *he could find* 'a gun, *shot and powder*, at his master's house: that his 'master did not watch him, he could go into every room: '*Ben* asked *Quash*, what will you stand for? He said, he did 'not care what he stood for, or should be, but he could 'kill three, four, five white men before night.

'That *Quash* said, he could get two half dozen of knives 'in papers, three or four swords; and that he would set 'his master's house on fire, and when he had done that, he 'would *come abroad and fight*.

4. 'That

4. ‘ That Marſchalk's *York* ſaid, that his miſtreſs
‘ ſcolded at him, and he would kill her before he went
‘ *to fight.*

5. ‘ *London* (Marſchalk's other negro) ſaid, that
‘ *he went out to fight*, he would ſet his maſter's houſe on
fire.

6. ‘ *Scipio* (Van Borſom's negro) ſaid, he would ſet
‘ his miſtreſs's houſe on fire before *he would go out to fight.*

7. ‘ *Cato* (Shurmur's negro) ſaid, he would ſet his miſ-
‘ treſs's houſe on fire; and that as the houſes ſtand all toge-
‘ ther, the fire would go more far.

8. ‘ *Cato* alias *Toby*, (John Provooſt's negro) ſaid, he
‘ would get his maſter's ſword, and then ſet the houſe on
‘ fire, and *go out to fight.*

9. The *Spaniſh negroes* he could not underſtand.

10. ‘ *Cæſar* (Koertrecht's negro) ſaid, he would ſet his
‘ maſter's bakehouſe on fire.

11. *Ben* ſaid (when it was propoſed to burn his maſter's
‘ houſe) *No, if they conquered the place, he would keep that to*
‘ *live in himſelf.*

12. ‘ That *Curacoa Dick* came in juſt as they had done
‘ eating, but victuals enough were left for him, and he ſat
‘ down and eat: when *Dick* had done eating, he ſaid, eve-
‘ ry one muſt ſtand to his word; and that he would get
‘ his maſter's gun, and after that would ſet his ſtable on
‘ fire.

13. ‘ He (*Jack*) being aſked to ſet his maſter's houſe on
‘ fire; ſaid no, he *would ſet his maſter's ſhingles on fire,*
‘ *and then go out to fight.*

14. ‘ *Hughſon* ſaid, *he would ſtand by what the* Spaniſh and
‘ York *negroes ſhould do*; and he would go before, *and be*
‘ *their* KING, and would mix them one amongſt another
‘ *when they came to fight.*

15. ‘ Hughſon *ſat the negroes upon this diſcourſe, and de-*
‘ *ſign, at the ſaid meetings*; on which the *Spaniſh negroes*
‘ *agreed* all to join with the *York negroes* *.

16. ‘ That they all ſwore; ſome ſaid, d—n; ſome ſaid,
‘ by G—d, and other oaths: a *Spaniſh* negro ſwore by
‘ thunder; *Hughſon* ſwore by G—d, if they would be true
‘ to him, he would take this country; and *Jack* ſwore by
‘ G—d, for his part.

17. ‘ That *Peggy* went away after they had done eating,
‘ before they ſwore.

* See the confeſſions of Quack and Cuffee, 30th May.

18. ‘ *Mary*

18. '*Mary Burton* took away the diſhes and plates, and *Sarah* (*Hughſon*'s daughter) took away the cloth: *Sarah* (*Hughſon*'s wife) ſat down by her huſband, and continued there all the time.

19. 'The meeting broke up juſt after ſun down.

20. '*Tickle* (Carpenter's negro) ſaid, his miſtreſs was croſs, and he worked hard, and could get no good clothes; that he would murder his miſtreſs firſt, becauſe ſhe was not good to him, *before he went out to fight.*

21. '*Baſtian* alias *Tom Peal* (Vaarck's) eat at *Hughſon*'s; *Quaſh* aſked him if he would ſtand to help? He ſaid, *yes*, he knew that; and that was the reaſon he came there.

22. *Francis* (Jaſper Boſch's) ſaid, he would ſet his maſter's houſe on fire, *before he came out to fight.*

23. 'COMFORT's *cook* went with him (*Jack*) to *Hughſon*'s; ſwore, and ſaid, he would ſet his maſter's ſtore-houſe on fire; *and was to go fight too*, and could get a penknife, or any thing.

24. 'Vaarck's *Jonneau* ſtood at the door a pretty while; but when the meat ready on table, came in, and ſat down at table: *York* aſked him, what will you ſtand for! he ſaid, *he was not able to fight*; but he would ſet his maſter's houſe on fire, and then his neighbours, and ſo on.

25. 'Says, *they agreed to wait a month and half for the* Spaniards *and* French *to come*; and if they did not come then, they were to begin at *Wenman*'s, next to Mr. *De Lancey*'s, and ſo on down the Broad-way.

26. 'That *they waited till this month and half was expired, and then the fort was burnt.*

27. 'Says, that every negro then preſent was to do what they engaged to do, *on one and the ſame ſunday, when church was gone in of the morning*; and if all was not done in that one day, they were to go on the ſaturday following: and ſo, *if the* Spaniards *and* French *did not come, they were to do all themſelves.*

28. 'That at this meeting, *Anthony*, belonging to *Peter De Lancey*, *talked about ſtuff to put the houſes on fire, by flinging it into the houſe, but he heard no other negro but him talk of it*; but he mentioned it every time they met; but at this meeting for the firſt time.

29. 'That ſame ſunday's monday [the next day] about ſun down, all the ſame negroes came to *Hughſon*'s again; ſome brought money, and gave to *Hughſon* for drink; and dram: *Ben* plaid on the fiddle: *Hughſon*'s *wife* and *daugh-*

'ter danced together in one part of the room, and the ne-
'groes in another; ſtaid there till about ſeven that night:
'That they came there that night to frolick, and merry
'make, and did not talk about fires; *for they had agreed*
'*upon that the day before.*

30. 'That then one ſunday paſſed, and no meeting any
'where that he knows of.

31. 'The ſunday after that, there was a meeting at his
'maſter *Comfort*'s; ſome negroes were in the ſhop, and
'ſome in the kitchin; that the kitchin and ſhop join to
'each other; the doors into each went out into the ſtreet,
'or into the yard; ſo that to go from one to the other,
'you muſt either go into the yard, or on the dock: Among
'whom were Marſhall's *Ben*, Rutgers's *Quaſh*, Provoſt's
'*Cato* alias *Toby*, Shurmur's *Cato*, Marſchalk's *York*, and
'*London*, Vanborſom's *Scipio*, Carpenter's *Albany*, *Curaco*
'*Dick*, Kortrecht's *Cæſar*, Burk's *Sarah*, Niblet's *Sandy*,
'Chambers's *Robin*, Gomez's *Cuffee*, Peck's *Cæſar*, Com-
'fort's *Cook*, Sleydall's *Jack*, *Anthony* and *Wan*, two *Spa-*
'*niſh* negroes; Vanderſpiegle's *Fortune*, Cowley's *Cato*,
'Jay's *Braſh*, Boſch's *Francis*, Furman's *Harry*, and *Pow-*
'*lus*: Which negroes being met, *they began all to talk of*
'*burning the town, and killing the people*; *and the general*
'*converſation was to the effect of that at* Hughſon's, *and the*
'*fire to begin as aforeſaid*; *every one being to ſet his maſter's*
'*houſe, or ſtable on fire, and then go out to fight.*

32. 'Furman's *Harry* was to ſet his maſter's cow-ſtable
'on fire.

33. 'This converſation began, and was moſt talked of
'before *Sandy* came in; *Sandy* came into the kitchin firſt,
'being called in by him (*Jack*) *but was loth to come*; *Jack*
'aſked him to drink a dram, *Sandy* ſaid, no; *Sarah* * who
'was then preſent ſaid, he muſt drink, and made him drink;
'and having drunk the dram, *Jack* aſked him, *if he would*
'*ſtand to, and help them burn houſes, and kill the white people?*
'*Sandy* ſeemed afraid: They all drank a dram round, and
'then he (*Jack*) brought in nine claſp knives in a paper;
'thoſe that had not knives before took knives from the pa-
'per; ſome went into the ſhop, and ſome came into the
'kitchin, and all the knives were diſtributed: Being aſked,
'how he came by thoſe knives, ſaid, he aſked *Powlus*, a *Spa-*
'*niſh* negro, about a week before this meeting, to give him a
'knife; *Powlus* ſaid, he would get ſome for him, and ſell

* Burk's negro wench.

him.

'him. *Powlus* appointed him to meet him the wedneſday 'before this meeting at the Meal-market about duſk; that '*Powlus* came, and he gave him two ſhillings and ſix pence 'for them.

34. 'When they ſaw *Sandy* afraid, they whetted their 'knives in order to frighten him to ſay *yes*, to ſtand by them; 'and *Jack* ſaid, if he did not ſtand by them, he would cut 'his head off; to which *Sarah* ſaid, he deſerves it, if he 'don't ſay *yes*; then *Sandy* ſaid *yes*[a].

35. 'The ſtone they whetted their knives on, was a 'brown ſtone that lay in the yard by the door. About a 'week and an half after this meeting, the fort was ſet on 'fire.

36. 'Soon after *Sandy* had conſented, it growing duſk 'they parted.

37. 'Says, he thought the bargain ſo ſure made, that *he 'did not make any more meetings before* the *fort* fired.

38. 'Says, that ſome time after the fort burnt, SLEY-'DALL's *Jack* came to *Comfort's* houſe, and *told the exa-'minant he had put fire to Mr.* Murray's *hayſtack*.

39. 'That he met *Provooſt's* negro the night that *Hil-'ton's* houſe burnt, and aſked him, what news? for he had 'heard that there had been fire at that end of the town? 'Provooſt's *Cato* alias *Toby* ſaid, he had done it.

40. 'That Gomez's *Cuffee* ſet *Van Zant's* ſtorehouſe on 'fire.

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY*, 9*th* JUNE.

PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING,

*againſt*

Baſtian,
Francis, Bosch's,
Albany,
Curaçoa Dick,
} *Negroes.*

UPON the motion of Mr. attorney general; *ordered*, that the trial of the priſoners *Baſtian*, &c. be deferred till to-morrow.

[a] See Sandy's examination, NUMB. II. Monday 25th May.

*Ordered*, that the execution of *Jack* (Comfort's negro) be reſpited till friday next.

Court adjourned to to-morrow morning 10 o'clock.

This day *Ben* (capt. Marſhall's) *Quaſh* (H. Rutgers's) *Cæſar* (Kortrecht's) *Toby* alias *Cato* (Provooſt's) *Cato* (Shurmur's) *York* and *London* (Marſchalk's) *Scipio* (Van Borlom's) and *Harry* (Furman's) were apprehended upon *Jack* (Comfort's) examination and confeſſion, and committed.

This day alſo, the negroes *Cook*, *Robin* (Chamber's) *Cæſar* (Peck's) *Cuffee* (Gomez's) were executed according to ſentence.

*Examination and confeſſion of* Pompey (Leffert's) *before the Grand Jury.*

*He ſaid*,

'THAT *Quaſh*, Rutgers's, *Quack*, Rooſevelt's, aſked 'him one ſunday, if he would do as they would do? 'And *Pompey* aſked them, what? And *Quaſh* ſaid, *Quack* 'would tell him; and *Quack* ſaid, they would ſet their 'maſter's houſes on fire, if he would ſet his maſter's houſe 'on fire; and he agreed he would; and they then told him, 'they would tell him when; and they would be all *free*, 'and be free from trouble: He aſked what they deſigned 'to do? *Quack* ſaid, they would tell him in time, and would 'not tell him then.

2. 'Being aſked when he was ſpoke to; he ſaid, 'twas 'about a fortnight before *Quack* was taken up.

3. 'That *Quaſh* told him, two or three days before he 'was ſent to goal, that *Ben* (capt. Marſhall's man) knew 'of it.'

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Sandy*'s Examination, NUMB. III. §. 8. 1*ſt June*.
*Sarah* (BURK'S) Examination, II. 1*ſt June*.
*Worceſter* (VARIAN'S) Examination. 22*d*, 30*th June*.

*Examination and confeſſion of* Jack (Comfort's) *before the Grand Jury.*

NUMB. II.

He repeated much to the ſame purpoſe as in his examination before the Judge;

1. But on repeating over the perſons who were at *Comfort*'s houſe, and *Hughſon*'s, he obſerved, 'that *Cato*, (COWLEY'S) 'was not at *Hughſon*'s at that meeting; and that *Ben*, and '*Quaſh*, and *Pablo* [alias *Powlus*] were not at *Comfort*'s

'at that meeting; ſo that the following is a true liſt of each 'company, who was there, who are not executed, or in-'dicted.

*At* Hughſon's.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Quaſh*, | | H. Rutgers's. |
| *Cato*, | | John Provooſt's. |
| *York*, *London*, | | P. Maſchalk's. |
| *Tickle*, | | Carpenter's. |
| *Ben* | | Capt. Marſhall's. |
| *Pablo* or *Powlus*, | Spaniards. | Becker's. |
| *Antonio*, | | P. De Lancey's. |
| *Juan*, | | Sarly's. |
| *Auguſtine*, | | M'Mullen's. |
| *Antonio*, | | Meſnard's. |

*At* Comfort's.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Cato*, | | Shurmur's. |
| *Cato*, | | Cowley's. |
| *York*, *London*, | | Marſchalk's. |
| *Scipio*, | | Van Borſom's. |
| *Cæſar*, | | Kortrecht's. |
| *Jack*, | | Sleydall's. |
| *Fortune*, | | Vanderſpiegle's. |
| *Braſh*, | | Jay's. |
| *Harry*, | | Furman's. |
| *Tom*, | | B. Moore's. |
| *Antonio*, | Spaniards. | De Lancey's. |
| *Juan*, | | Sarly's. |

Upon the cloſe of *Jack*, (COMFORT's) two examinations, the Judges thought proper to recommend him to his honour the lieutenant governor for a pardon.

Supreme Court.

*WEDNESDAY*, 10*th* JUNE,

PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING,

*againſt*

| | |
|---|---|
| Baſtian, | |
| Francis, BOSCH's, | Negroes. |
| Albany, | |
| Curacoa Dick, | |

*On trial on indictment for a conſpiracy, to burn the city of New-York, and murder the inhabitants.*

Jury called, and the priſoners challenged *Ben Thomas*. The following jurors were ſworn, *viz.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *John Dier.* | *Daniel Dunſcomb.* |
| *Joſeph Sacket.* | *Thomas Bohanna.* |
| *John Shurmur.* | *Iſaac Twentyman.* |
| *Joſiah Millikan.* | *Peter Van Durſen.* |
| *Iſaac Van Dam.* | *John Robins.* |
| *Humphry Jones.* | *Peter Eveutzſe.* |

Of council for the KING.

ATTORNEY GENERAL.

JOSEPH MURRAY, } Eſqrs.
WILLIAM SMITH, }

The attorney general, after opening the indictment to the court and jury, proceeded as follows.

'*Gentlemen*,

'IT will appear to you by the evidence for the King upon 'this trial, that theſe four priſoners at the bar are ſome 'of that great number of negroes that frequently met at '*Hughſon*'s houſe; where he privately entertained them, 'and where they confederated with him, and the reſt of the 'conſpirators, to carry on this moſt wicked and dreadful conſpi'racy to burn the King's houſe and this town, and to murder 'the inhabitants.---The moſt horrible and deſtructive plot that 'ever was yet known in theſe northern parts of *America*; 'of which *Hughſon* was here the chief contriver and direc'tor, with great expectations of enriching himſelf by the 'ruin and deſtruction of his neighbours; as has been fully 'made appear on the preceding trials; wherefore it may 'juſtly be called HUGHSON'S PLOT.---It will likewiſe ap'pear to you in evidence, that each of theſe priſoners were 'ſworn into this direful conſpiracy, and never to diſ'cover it, or that *Hughſon* was any way concerned in it.

'*Gentlemen*,

'Many of the conſpirators have already been tried, con'demned and executed, for the abominable parts they have 'acted in this execrable conſpiracy: And *Hughſon* himſelf, 'his *wife*, *daughter*, and *Margaret Kerry*, are under that 'ſentence of death which now awaits their execution, the 'juſt demerits of their heinous crimes.

'*Gentlemen*,

'As all the priſoners at the bar are negroes, the evidence

* His houſe was attempted to be ſet on fire.

of

'of other negroes is made ſufficient againſt them by a law 'of this province; which I thought proper to obſerve to you, 'becauſe we ſhall examine ſeveral negro witneſſes to prove 'what I have alledged againſt theſe negro priſoners; and 'when you have heard their charge proved againſt them, I 'can't doubt but you will, for your oath's ſake, and for 'your own and this city and country's peace and ſafety, find 'the priſoners guilty.

'We ſhall now call the witneſſes and examine them be-'fore you.'

Witneſſes for the KING called,

*Mary Burton*, } Sworn.
*Daniel Burgher*, }
*Nicholas Roſevelt*, }
*George Joſeph Moore*, }

*Sandy* } Negroes. *Edward Sherlock*, Interpreter,
*Sarah* } *Francis* being a Spaniard.

*Jack* (COMFORT's) being ſet to the bar, and aſked what he had to ſay why execution of his former ſentence ſhould not be awarded; he produced his Majeſty's moſt gracious free pardon, and pray'd that the ſame might be read and allow'd of: Which being read, was allowed by the court accordingly. The ſaid *Jack* then proceeded to give evidence againſt the priſoners.

*Evidence againſt* Baſtian.

*Mary Burton*'s depoſition, NUMB. II. §. 1, 5. 13*th May*.

She ſaid, upon the trial, 'that ſhe had ſeen the priſoner 'at *Hughſon*'s amongſt twenty other negroes; and he was 'conſenting with the reſt to burn the whole town, and de-'ſtroy all the people.

*Jack* (Comfort's) examina. NUMB. I. §. 2, 21. 8*th June*.

*Sawney* ſaid, 'he ſaw *Baſtian* at the meeting at *Comfort*'s.

*Evidence againſt* Francis (BOSCH's.)

*Sawney*'s examination, NUMB. I. §. 7, 15. 22*d May*.

*Jack* (Comfort's) exam. NUMB. I. §. 2, 22, 31. 8*th June*.

*Sawney* ſaid, 'he was one of the *Spaniſh negroes* he heard 'talking before *Luſhe*'s door, when they were talking of 'burning the town: That he was preſent, and conſenting 'at the meeting at *Comfort*'s.

*Mary Burton* ſaid, 'ſhe ſaw him often at the meetings at '*Hughſon*'s when they were talking of burning the town and 'killing the people; and he ſeemed to be conſenting; he 'ſpoke a little Engliſh, and ſome other language ſhe did not 'underſtand.

*Evidence againſt* Albany.

*Mary Burton*'s depoſition, NUMB. II. § 5. 13*th May.*

*Jack* (Comfort's) examina. NUMB. I. § 31. 8*th June.*

Confeſſion of *Quack*, § 4, 11. 30*th May.*

Confeſſion of *Cuffee*, § 3. 30*th May.*

Proved by *George Joſeph Moore* and *John Rooſevelt.*

*Evidence againſt* Curacoa Dick.

*Sawney*'s examination, NUMB. I. § 5. 22*d May.*

Said, 'he ſaw him at the meeting at *Comfort*'s, and he 'conſented to burn and kill, &c.

'*Sarah* (Burk's) examina. NUMB. II. § 3. 1*ſt June.*

III. § 4, 5. 5*th June.*

*Jack* (Comfort's) examina. NUMB. I. § 12, 31. 8*th June.*

Witneſſes called for the priſoners.

*Robert Hagg.*

Mrs. *Carpenter*, Albany's miſtreſs.

Mr. *Tiebout*, Curacoa Dick's maſter.

The priſoner's defence, as uſual with the guilty, turned upon the negative; they aſked the witneſſes no material Queſtions; and the evidence upon the whole being ſummed up, the jury were charged, and withdrew for a ſhort time; and being returned, found them all GUILTY of the indictment.

Court adjourned to to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

Supreme Court.

*THURSDAY*, 11*th* JUNE.

PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING,

*againſt*

Baſtian,

Francis, *a Spaniſh negro* (Boſch's)

Albany,

Curacoa Dick.

Judgment being moved for againſt theſe four criminals convicted, they were brought to the bar; and being aſked what they had to ſay, why ſentence of death ſhould not be pronounced againſt them?

*Baſtian* (as was intimated by ſomebody about the goal he would) confeſſed his guilt; the reſt proteſted their innocence.

The court then proceeded to ſentence againſt them, which was, That

'That they ſhould be chained to a ſtake, and burnt to 'death.

And *ordered*, their execution ſhould be the next day, between two and eight of the clock afternoon.

After ſentence paſſed, the following confeſſion was immediately thereupon taken from *Baſtian* in court.

*He ſaid*,

1. 'THAT his fellow-ſervant *Cæſar* firſt acquainted 'him with it [meaning the plot] and carried him 'to *Hughſon*'s; that *Hughſon*, his *wife* and *daughter* were 'preſent, and *ſwore him*; that many negroes were there; '*Cato* (Cowley's) *Anthony* (De Lancey's) there: *they were* '*to burn the fort and town, and kill the people.*

2. 'That *he threatened* Mary Burton, as ſworn.

3. 'That *they were ſworn on a bible.*

4. 'That *Hughſon was to be the governor or ruler over* '*them.*

5. 'This meeting was on a ſunday.

6. 'That they went there the next night to frolick, and 'all the negroes who had been executed were in the plot.

7. 'Quack *burnt the fort, and he has heard him ſay ſo.*

8. 'Hughſon was the firſt encourager.

9. 'That *Hughſon* was to have the goods that were ſtolen 'from the fire. Cæſar *was to be king.*

10. 'This meeting was at *Hughſon*'s about a week and a 'half after new-year.

11. '*Hughſon*, and his wife and daughter, and *Mary* '*Burton* there.

12. 'Came there about four in the afternoon: a great 'many negroes there, about thirteen or fourteen; the daugh-'ter laid the cloth after he came in.

The KING,
*againſt*
Sarah Hughſon, *daughter of* John Hughſon.

As to this miſerable creature under ſentence of death, to be executed with her father and mother and *Margaret Kerry* to-morrow; the judges wiſhed that ſhe would have furniſhed them with ſome colour or pretence for recommending her as an object of mercy; but they waited for it hitherto in vain: ſhe was a wretch ſtupified and hardened in wickedneſs, and ſeemed void of all ſenſe of a future ſtate: however it was thought proper to reſpite her execution to *Friday*, 19*th June*; which was *ordered* accordingly; in

hopes,

hopes, that after her father and mother had ſuffered, ſhe might be mollified to a confeſſion of her own guilt, and raiſe ſome merit by making a further diſcovery; or at leaſt, confirming what had hitherto been unfolded concerning this accurſed ſcheme.

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

*Examination and confeſſion of* Baſtian, *alias* Tom Peal,

*Before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. I.

*He ſaid,*

1. 'THAT a little after new-year *Cæſar* (hanged) his fellow ſervant aſked him to go along with him 'down to *Hughſon*'s houſe: this was of a ſunday afternoon, 'before the church was out: when he came there he found 'about fifteen negroes, to the beſt of his remembrance, in 'a room with *Hughſon*, his *wife*, and *daughter* (now un-'der condemnation) *Cæſar*, hanged, was then preſent, and 'aſked him the examinant (*Cæſar* having a piſtol in his 'hand, and clapping the ſame to the examinant's breaſt) 'whether he would join along with them to become their 'own maſters? The examinant aſked him, what he would 'have him join with him in? *Cæſar* anſwered him, in the 'plot; for that they had deſigned to take the country; and 'ſaid they had a parcel of good hands, *Spaniſh* negroes, 'five or ſix of them (then preſent) who would join with the '*York* negroes; that they expected *that war would be pro-'claimed in a little time againſt the* French; *and that the* 'French *and* Spaniards *would come here; and that they* (mean-'ing the negroes preſent and the Hughſons) *would join with 'them to take the place*: at firſt the examinant anſwered 'no; and then *Cæſar* ſaid, if he did not join along with 'them, ſwearing, he the examinant ſhould not go alive 'out of the houſe: then he offered the examinant ſome-'thing to drink, and made him drink; and then *Cæſar* ſaid, 'now he had got him; and the examinant being affrighted 'and very much daunted upon *Cæſar*'s offering a piſtol at 'his breaſt, was forced to conſent; whereupon Cæſar *ſaid 'to* Hughſon, *the examinant was but a weak-hearted dog, 'howſomever ſet his name down*, and I will encourage him 'up.* Hughſon anſwered, he would do it.

2. 'Says to the ſame effect as Comfort's *Jack* [touching 'the meeting and entertainment at *Hughſon*'s] with this fur-

* It ſeems Hughſon kept a liſt of the confederates, and uſed to put them down as they were ſworn.

'ther

'ther, that there was veal, ducks, geese, a quarter of 'mutton, and fowls to the best of his remembrance.

3. 'That *Hughson, his wife*, and *daughter* sat down to 'eat with the negroes, with this difference, that they sat 'on one side the table, the negroes on the other; that the 'cloth was laid on several tables put together, and some 'boards laid upon tubs.

4. 'That *Peggy* went in and out of the room, but did 'not set down with them; but believes she must have heard 'them discourse about the plot carrying on, and talked of 'at that meeting.

5. 'That after they had done eating, the maid and the 'daughter helped take the things away; then *John Hugh-* 'son brought a bible and laid it upon the table; then open- 'ed the book, and seemed to read something out of it, 'which was in the nature of an oath, *That the first thun- 'der might strike them dead that discovered, or did not stand 'to their words to perform what they had engaged to do*: 'Hughson swore first, then his wife; then his daughter; 'and all the negroes present, as well as himself, and all kiss- 'ed the book; and *Hughson* pronounced the words they 'swore to, that is to say, *To burn the town, and murder the 'people; but they were to stay till the* Spaniards *and* French 'came, *about a month and an half*; and if they did not come 'in that time, they were to begin themselves; *and that 'they were to begin with the fort first.*

6. 'That capt. MARSHALL's *Ben* (whom *Hughson* and 'the negroes called capt. *Marshall*) was there when the exa- 'minant came in: *Jack* (COMFORT's) came in before the 'cloth was laid, and after *Cæsar* had clapt the pistol to the 'examinant's breast †.

7. 'That *Hughson* took a flask of rum out of a case, and 'put upon the table, and some punch was made of it, and 'some drank dry drams; and all the negroes agreed to what 'was proposed as before.

*The* negroes *then present* [*at* Hughson's] *were*,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Cæsar*, | hanged, | *Quash*, | Rutgers's. |
| *Prince*, | hanged, | *Ben*, | capt. Marshall's. |
| *Cuffee*, | Philipse's. | *Pocylus*, | |
| *Quack*, | Roosevelt's. | *Anthony*, | P. de Lancey's. |
| *Robin*, | Chambers's. | *Cato*, | Cowley's. |
| *Cuffee*, | Gomez's. | *Cato*, | Shurmur's. |

† Compare this examination with Jack, COMFORT's, 8th June.

*Jack*,

*Jack*, *Cook*, } Comfort's — *Harry*, Kipp's. *Tickle Pitcher*, Carpenter's.
*Cæſar*, Peck's. *Francis*, Boſch's.
*York*, *London*, } Marſchalk's. *Cato* or *Toby*, capt. Provoſt's. whom they called cap. *Provoſt*.

'Every one to fire his maſter's houſe, and then fire the 'fort; and to begin next Mr. *De Lancey's*; *and thoſe that lived at the Fly*, to burn *Van Zant's* ſtorehouſe, and be-'gin the fire there: *thoſe at the Long-bridge were to fire there.*

8. 'They broke up about nine of the clock, having 'made their agreement.—At this meeting was the firſt diſ-'courſe he heard about the plot.

9. 'The monday night following he went to *Hughſon's*, 'where they had a frolick: no fiddle; and had the ſame 'diſcourſe again, all to ſtand true to their words, *&c.* 'Moſt part of the ſame company there again: ſome, he 'believes, could not come out: they had agreed the night 'before to meet again.

10. 'They met at *Comfort's* about a fortnight after, on 'ſunday. *Jack* aſked *Sandy* to come in, *&c. Sarah* ſaid 'he was an impudent boy not to do as the *captain* bid him; '*Jack* fetched penknives, *&c.*

Negroes *preſent at* Comfort's.

| | |
|---|---|
| He, *Baſtian*, | *Harry*, Kipp's. |
| *Curacoa Dick*, | *Cæſar*, Peck's. |
| *Sandy*, | *Ben*, Marſhall's. |
| *Sarah*, | *Anthony*, [De Lancey's.] |
| *Francis*, Boſch's, | *Wan*, Sarly's. |
| *Albany*, | *Emanuel*, *Spaniſh* negro. |
| *Quack* [Rooſevelt's.] | [Wendover's.] |
| *Robin*, [Chambers's.] | *Cato*, Shurmur's. |
| *Cook*, *Jack*, } [Comfort's.] | *York*, *London*, } Marſchalk's. |
| *Cuffee*, Gomez's. | *Jack*, Sleydall's. |

11. '*Jack*, COMFORT's, was to put his maſter's ſhin-'gles on fire, *&c.* To the purpoſe as *Jack* ſaid*.

*Baſtian* ſeemed by his looks and behaviour, upon his examination, to be touched with a remorſe for his guilt, and was very ingenuous in his confeſſion, inſomuch that he was thought an object of mercy, and would be a witneſs worthy of credit; therefore it was judged proper to recommend him to the lieutenant governor for a pardon.

* See JACK's examination NUMB. I. § 13, 8th June.

Su-

Supreme Court.

*FRIDAY*, 12*th* JUNE.

PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING,

*againſt*

Baſtian *and* Jamaica.

*Ordered*, That the execution of the negro *Baſtian* be reſpited till friday the 19th inſtant.

Some favourable circumſtances having been repreſented with reſpect to *Jamaica*; the court thought proper likewiſe to *order* his execution to be reſpited till friday the 19th inſtant.

The KING,

*againſt*

Quaſh,
Ben,
Cato,
Fortune,
Cato *alias* Toby,

} *Negroes.*

THE priſoners being ſet to the bar, were arraigned for conſpiring to burn the whole town and city of *New-York*, and to kill and deſtroy the inhabitants thereof; and ſeverally pleaded, *not guilty*.

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

*Examination and confeſſion of* Will, *alias* Ticklepitcher, *negro.*

*Taken before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. I.

*He ſaid*,

1. 'THAT he was one of the company at *Hughſon's*, with a parcel of negroes, when *North* the conſtable came, and interrupted them at a feaſt.

2. 'That on the ſunday following, which was about Whitſontide twelve months, *Tom* belonging to captain *Rowe*, and *Quamino*, belonging to the eſtate of *Harris*,

in

'in Stone-ſtreet, aſked him, whether he would do as they 'would? The examinants aſked them, what was that? *Old* '*Quamino* anſwered, that they would ſet fire to both rows 'of houſes in Stone-ſtreet, and he would find powder, and 'piſtol and ball: the examinant ſaid, he would conſider of 'it, he did not know whether he would or no: then *Qua-* '*mino* pulled out a razor and threatened to cut his throat, 'if he did not agree with them: upon which he was forc- 'ed to conſent.

3. 'That about three weeks after laſt new year, one day, 'about the middle of the week, he, (the examinant) *Albany* 'his fellow-ſervant, the abovenamed *Tom*, and the ſaid '*Quamino* were at the houſe of the ſaid *John Hughſon*, and 'had a tankard of punch, which *Hughſon* brought to them.

4. 'That they, the ſaid negroes, together with

| | |
|---|---|
| *Cato*, Cowley's, | *Another negro* * *belonging to* |
| *Fortune*, Vanderſpiegle's, | *the ſaid* Latham, |
| *Sarah*, Burk's, | *Capt.* Lawrence's *tall negro* †, |
| *London*, Kelly's, | *Wan* ‡ Lowe's *yellow fellow*, |
| *Worceſter*, Varian's, | *Will*, } Vaarck's, |
| *Harry*, Kipp's, | *Baſtian*, } |
| *Mars* Becker's the brewer, | *Cuffee*, Gomez's, |
| *Powlus*, | *Mink*, Groeſbeck's, |
| *Primus*, Debroſſe's, | *Curacoa Dick*, the fiddler, |
| *Tony*, Latham's, | *Bill* or *Will*, Mrs. Sims's, |

'(in all he thinks between twenty and thirty) were all that he 'remembers to be preſent at this meeting at *Hughſon*'s.

5. 'That the day before this meeting, the negroes above 'named being all preſent at *Hughſon*'s; he the ſaid *Hughſon* 'ſaid to the negroes, *Now was a proper time to make a* '*plot*, ſince there were ſo many of them together; that is 'to ſay *They ſhould undertake to burn the town; to burn the* '*fort; to burn Stone-ſtreet: almoſt every one agreed, and un-* '*dertook to burn their maſter's and miſtreſs's houſe; and to* '*kill the white people as they came to extinguiſh the flames*; 'he the examinant was to ſet his miſtreſs's houſe on fire: 'they pitched upon him for it.

6. '*Hughſon* brought out a great book to make them 'ſwear; Hughſon *ſwore himſelf and* Peggy *firſt*; and then 'ſwore all the negroes; they putting their right hand every 'one upon the book: the purport of the OATH was, '*damnation to eternity to the failers, or thoſe that brought out* '(i. e. diſcovered) *what they had agreed upon.*

* Fortune. † Sterling. ‡ called Indian Wan.

7. 'They

7. 'They were to bring all the goods that they could 'get at the fires to *Hughſon*'s houſe; and after all over, '*Hughſon* was to carry them (the negroes) off.

8. '*Hughſon*, to encourage this meeting promiſed to give 'them a barrel of cyder.

*The confeſſion of* Jack (Sleydall's.)

*Before his maſter and others.*

*He ſaid,*

1. 'THAT ſome time after Chriſtmas he was at the 'houſe of *John Hughſon*, and that there was a 'ſupper there; and that capt. MARSHALL's *Ben*, who ſat 'at the head of the table,

*Albany*, *Tickle*, } *Mrs.* Carpenter's,
*Jack*, *Cook*, } Comfort's,
*Mr.* PECK's negro*,
*Quaſh*, Rutgers's,
*Pedro*, De Peyſter's,
*Baſtian* alias *Tom Peal*,
*Cato*, Cowley's,
*Cæſar*, Pintard's,

'and ſeveral others were there; the cloth being laid and 'taken away by *Margaret Kerry*;——after ſupper, were 'dancing, and Mr. PHILIPSE's *Cuffee* plaid on the fiddle; 'and that after they had done dancing, they made a bowl 'of punch; and having for ſome time drank, they ſaid one 'to another, *let us ſet fire to the town and kill the white peo-* 'ple, and then we will make our eſcape; and that they all 'agreed to it, and ſwore on a book, and kiſſed the book; 'and that the ſaid *Jack* told them, if they did it, he would 'try to help.

2. Being aſked if Mr. JAY's *Broſh* was there, he ſaid, 'he was not.

3. 'That he the ſaid *Jack*, on a ſaturday night, took 'ſome aſhes and coals from his maſter's houſe in a little 'kettle, and put it under Mr. *Murray*'s hayſtack †; that 'he was told to do it by Mr. DE PEYSTER's *Pedro*, who 'ſaid, that after the ſtack was on fire, the others would ſet 'other parts of the town on fire.'

This day *John Hughſon*, *Sarah* his wife, and *Margaret Kerry*, were executed according to ſentence.

The under-ſheriff had often adviſed *John Hughſon* to make a confeſſion about the conſpiracy; but he always denied he knew any thing of the matter; ſaid he had deſerv-

* Cæſar.

† See Jack (Comfort's) examination, Numb. I. § 38. monday, 8th June.

ed death for receiving ſtolen goods. The wife was ever ſilent; ſaid little or nothing, but denied all.

The ſheriffs obſerved *John Hughſon*, when he was brought out of jail to be carried to execution, to have a red ſpot in each cheek, about the bigneſs of a ſhilling; which at that time they thought very remarkable; for he was always pale of viſage: Theſe ſpots continued all along to the gallows: Amongſt other diſcourſe it ſeems he had ſaid, *he did not doubt but ſome remarkable ſign would happen to him, to ſhew his innocence*; concerning which more will be obſerved upon hereafter: He ſtood up in the cart all the way, looking round about him as if expecting to be reſcued; as was by many conjectured from the air he appeared in: One hand was lifted up as high as his pinion would admit of, and a finger pointing, as if intending to beckon.

At the gallows his wife ſtood like a lifeleſs trunk, with the rope about her neck tied up to the tree; ſhe ſaid not a word, and had ſcarce any viſible motion.

*Peggy* ſeemed much leſs reſigned than the other two, or rather unwilling to encounter death: She was going to ſay ſomething; but the old woman, who hung next to her, gave her a ſhove with her hand, as was ſaid by ſome, ſo *Peggy* was ſilent.

But they *all died, having proteſted their innocence to the laſt*, touching the conſpiracy.

This old woman, as it has been generally reported, was bred a papiſt; and *Peggy* was much ſuſpected of the ſame perſuaſion *, though *perhaps it may ſeem* to be of little ſignificance what religion ſuch vile wretches profeſſed.

*Peggy* had ſaid ſeveral times, as well after her conviction as condemnation for the conſpiracy, as the judges were informed by the under-ſheriff, that ſhe had ſworn falſly againſt *John Romme*; which was ſo groſs a prevarication, as diſcouraged them from taking any further pains with her, ſince there could be no dependance upon what ſhe ſhould ſay: The evening before her execution ſhe ſent a meſſage to Mr. Juſtice *Philipſe*, ſignifying her deſire to ſpeak with him; he accordingly went to her; ſhe declared to him, that ſhe had forſworn herſelf; for that all ſhe had ſaid about *Romme and his wife* was falſe, excepting as to their receiving the ſtolen goods of the negroes.——From the ſcanty room in the jail for the reception of ſo many priſoners, this miſerable wretch, upon her conviction with the *Hughſons* for the conſpiracy,

* See Sarah Hughſon's confeſſion, NUMB. II. § 6. 22 July.

was

was put into the same cell with them; which perhaps was an unfortunate incident; for though she had to the time of their trial screened them from the charge of the conspiracy; yet there was reason to expect, that upon the last pinch, when she found there was no hopes of saving her own life if she persisted, the truth as to this particular would have come out: And indeed it was upon this expectation that she was brought upon trial for the conspiracy; for her several examinations before set forth, and what *Arthur Price* had sworn to have dropt from her in accidental talk in the jail, had put it beyond doubt, that she was privy to many of the *Hughsons* secrets concerning this detestable confederacy; but when she was admitted to the *Hughsons*, under the circumstances of conviction and condemnation for the conspiracy, they most probably prevailed with her to persevere in her obstinacy, to the end to cover their own guilt, since they were determined to confess nothing themselves; and they might drive her to desperation by subtile insinuations, that the judges she saw after they had picked all they could out of her, whatever expectations she might have raised from her confessions, or hopes she flattered herself with of saving her life upon the merit of them, yet after all, she was brought to trial and condemned for the conspiracy, as well as they; and why should she expect pardon any more than they? And by such like artifices it is probable they might stop her mouth, and prevent her making further discovery; and not only so, but then of course prevail with her to recant, as to what she had confessed already.

*John Hughson*'s body was hung in chains according to sentence.

This day also, *Albany*, *Curacoa Dick* and *Francis*, negroes, were executed according to sentence.

The following slaves were taken into custody this day, having been impeached as confederates in the conspiracy:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Mink*, | Groesbeck's. | *Tom*, | Rowe's. |
| *Quamino*, | Pemberton's. | *London*, | Kelly's. |
| *Indian Wan*, | Low's. | *Starling*, | Lawrence's. |
| *Mars*, | Becker's. | *Bill*, | Ten Eyk's. |
| *Primus*, | De Brosse's. | | |

Supreme Court.

SATURDAY, 13th JUNE.

PRESENT,

*The Second and Third Justices.*

The KING, against Antonio, Dr LAMBERT's.
Antonio, MASSENAU's.
Pablo, *alias* Powlus.
Juan, *alias* Wan.
Auguſtine.

THE five priſoners being *Spaniſh negroes*, lately imported into this city as prize ſlaves, were put to the bar and arraigned upon an indictment for the conſpiracy, and thereto ſeverally pleaded, *not guilty*, &c.

The KING, against
Quaſh,
Ben,
Cato, COWLEY's,
Fortune, VANDERSPIEGLE's,
Cato *alias* Toby,
} *Negroes.*

*On trial upon indictment for the conſpiracy.*

JURY called, and the priſoners making no challenges, the following jurors were ſworn, *viz.*

*Cornelius Clopper*, *Charles Beekman*,
*Roger French*, *Elbert Herren*,
*Coenradt Ten Eyck*, *William Bartlett*,
*Jacobus Kierſtede*, *John Brewer*,
*Lawrence Garner*, *Richard Cook*,
*Henry Vandewater*, *James Jarrard.*

The attorney general having opened the indictment, proceeded as follows.

'*Gentlemen*,

'I ſhall ſhew you, by the witneſſes for the King upon the 'trial of theſe five negroes, that they, with many others, 'frequently met at *Hughſon*'s houſe, where they entered 'into a confederacy with *and were ſworn by him, to carry on 'this moſt wicked and villainous plot, and not to diſcover it, or 'that* Hughſon *had any hand in it*; and that they agreed to 'bring all their booty to him, to enrich him and make him 'great.—*Thus* were theſe *ſtupid wretches* ſeduced by the inſtigation of the devil, and *Hughſon* his agent, to undertake 'ſo ſenſeleſs, as well as wicked an enterprize; which muſt 'inevitably end in their own deſtruction, as now too late 'they find; and that in the ſnares they laid for us, they 'themſelves are taken.—*Gentlemen*, it cannot be imagined 'that theſe ſilly unthinking creatures (*Hughſon's black guard*) could

'could of themselves have contrived, and carried on so deep, 'so direful and destructive a scheme, as that we have seen 'with our eyes, and have heard fully proved they had pre- 'pared for us, without the advice and assistance of such a- 'bandoned wretches as *Hughson* was. That never to be 'forgotten *Hughson*, who is now gone to his place, as did '*Judas* of old to his.

'*Gentlemen*,

'These negro prisoners being drawn into this abominable 'conspiracy by others, does not give them the least umbrage 'of excuse; they are equally as guilty as if they themselves 'had devised it, by consenting to it, *taking oath to proceed 'in it*, and in the mean time *to keep it secret*.

'*Gentlemen*,

'The number of the conspirators is very great; for be- 'sides these five negroes, fourteen others, and four white 'people, which I have been concerned in the several trials 'of, have already been convicted, and received sentence of 'death; and we have still daily new discoveries of many 'more; but have now, God be thanked, encouragement 'to hope, that we shall soon reach to the bottom of this 'mystery of iniquity.

'*Gentlemen*,

'Be pleased to observe, that all the prisoners now to be 'tried, being negroes, the evidence of one negro against an- 'other, is, by a law of this province made sufficient; which 'I thought necessary to put you in mind of, because several 'negro witnesses will be examined against these five negro 'prisoners: And when you have heard their charge clear- 'ly proved against them; I doubt not but you will, for your 'own sakes, your oath's sake, and for the future peace and 'security of this city and province, find these negroes guilty.

Witnesses for the KING.

*Mary Burton*, sworn.

*Jack*, Comfort's,
*Sawney*, alias *Sandy*,
*Ticklepitcher*, alias *Will*,
*Pampey* Leffert's,
*Jack*, Sleydall's,
*Bastian*,
} *Negroes.*

*Bastian*, being placed at the bar, and asked, what he had to say why he should not suffer death according to the sentence pronounced against him? he produced a pardon; which he prayed might be read and allowed; and the same being read, was allowed of accordingly.

Of Council for the KING, with
Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Mr. MURRAY, } Who examined the witneſſes
Mr. CHAMBERS, } againſt the priſoners.

*Mary Burton* ſaid, ſhe had ſeen *capt. Ben*, *Quaſh*, *Cato* (PROVOOST's) and *Cato* (COWLEY's) amongſt the conſpirators at the meetings at *Hughſon*'s; and that they were all conſenting, and as forward as the reſt for burning the town and killing the white people. She did not remember that ſhe had ſeen *Fortune* at thoſe meetings; but thought ſhe knew his face.

*Jack* (COMFORT's) ſaid, he ſaw *capt. Ben*, *Quaſh*, and *Cato* (PROVOOST's) at the meeting of the conſpirators at *Hughſon*'s on the ſunday; and that there they talked of burning the town and killing the white people, and that they were conſenting and as forward and buſy as the reſt. And that *Fortune*, *Cato* (COWLEY's) and *Ben* were at the great meeting at his houſe * about ten days before the fort burnt, where they had the ſame talk of the plot as at *Hughſon*'s, and they were all conſenting.—*Jack* ſaid he brought knives and diſtributed amongſt them at this meeting, *with which they were to cut their maſter's and miſtreſs's throats*: That he met *Cato* (PROVOOST's) in the ſtreet on ſaturday evening, who told him, *he had done buſineſs to day; that he had ſet* Ben Thomas's *houſe on fire*.

*Sandy* ſaid, that he ſaw *Fortune* and *Cato* (COWLEY's) at *Comfort*'s, at the great meeting there about a fortnight before the fort burnt; and that *they* agreed amongſt the reſt *to burn the town, and kill the white people*.

*Baſtian* confirmed *Mary Burton*'s evidence, and likewiſe *Jack* (Comfort's) that *Ben*, *Cato* (Cowley's) and *Quaſh*, and alſo *Fortune*, were at the great meeting on a ſunday at Hughſon's, *when they were talking of burning the town, and killing the people*. And further, *that they were all ſworn to do it, and to keep ſecret*. That he likewiſe ſaw *Ben*, *Cato* (COWLEY's) and *Quaſh* at *Comfort*'s on a ſunday about a fortnight before the fort burnt, and the talk was the ſame amongſt them there, and they all conſented. He ſaid *there were two rooms full of negroes there, the kitchen and the ſhop*, as he was told, but he was only in the kitchen.

*Will*, alias *Tickle* or *Ticklepitcher*, ſaid he was at *Comfort*'s at the great meeting about a fortnight before the fort burnt, and he there ſaw *Fortune*, *Ben* and *Cato* (Cowley's) and

* His maſter's.

ſpoke

spoke as to what passed there, as the foregoing witness's *Jack, Sandy* and *Bastian*. And further that *Cato* (Cowley's) *went to the pump to wash the blood, and Fortune pumped the water for him.*

*Pompey* (Leffert's) against *Quash* said the same as in his examination and confession on *June*; and that *Quash* was to burn his master's house, and he and *Quash* (Roosevelt's) were to kill the white people; and that they prevailed upon him to consent to do so too.

*Jack* (Sleydall's) said he was at the great meeting of the negroes at *Hughson's*, on a Sunday about a fortnight before the fort burnt, *where they were talking of burning the town and killing the people*; and that *Quash*, *Ben* and *Cato* (Cowley's) were there, and that they agreed and were sworn.

*Note*, These are all the minutes of the evidence that were taken at the trial.

See the negro evidence more fully in the respective negro witnesses examinations and confessions, as followeth.

*Evidence particularly affecting* Capt. Ben.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Jack* (Comfort's) exa. | N° I. § 1, 2, 11, 29, 31. | 8th *June.* |
| *Bastian's* examination, | I. § 3. | 11th *June.* |
| *Jack* (Sleydall's) examination, | | 12th *June.* |
| *Tickle's* examination, | N° I. § 11, | 12th *June.* |

*Evidence particularly affecting* Quash.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Jack* (Comfort's) exam. | N°. I. § 2, 3, 21, 31. | 8th *June.* |
| *Pompey* (Leffert's) exam. | I. | 9th *June.* |
| *Bastian's* examination, | I. | 11th *June.* |
| *Jack* (Sleydall's) examination, | | 12th *June.* |

*Evidence particularly affecting* Cato *al.* Toby.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Jack* (Comfort's) exam. | N° I. § 2, 8, 31, 39. | 8th *June.* |
| *Bastian's* examination, | I. | 11th *June.* |

*Evidence particularly affecting* Cato.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Sandy's* examination, | N° II. § 1. | 25th *May.* |
| | III. § 8. | 1st *June.* |
| *Jack* (Comfort's) examin. | I. § 31, | 8th *June.* |
| *Bastian's* examination | I. | 11th *June.* |
| *Tickle's* examination, | § 4. | 12th *June.* |
| *Jack* (Sleydall's) examination, | | 12th *June.* |

*Evidence particularly affecting* Fortune.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Sandy's* examination, | N° II. § 1, 2. | 25th *May.* |
| | III. § 9. | 1st *June.* |

Jack (Comfort's) examin.

Tickle's examination.

Witneſſes called for the priſoners, as to their characters.

Mr. *Vanderſpiegle* (Fortune's maſter.)

Mr. *Ludge.*

*Iſaac*, Mr. *Vanderſpiegle*'s ſervant.

The priſoners aſked the witneſſes no material queſtions, but upon their defence denied all that was teſtified againſt them. Then

Mr. *Murray* ſummed up the evidence againſt *Bey*, *Fortune*, and *Cato* (COWLEY's.)

Mr. *Chambers* ſummed up the evidence againſt *Fortune*, and *Cato* (PROVOOST's.)

Then the jury being charged, withdrew for a little time; and being returned, *found* them all guilty of the indictment.

Court adjourned till monday morning ten o'clock.

This day *Pedro* (DE PEYSTER's) *Fortune* and *Jack* (LATHAM's) *Prince* (GABRIEL CROOKE's) negroes were apprehended and committed.

*Confeſſion of* Prince (Gabriel Crooke's) negro, *taken before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. I.

*He ſaid,*

1. 'THAT on the day that *Caffee* and *Quack* were executed, he the ſaid *Prince* and *York* (MARSCHALK's) were at the execution, and whilſt they were looking on them in the flames, *York* ſaid to him (*Prince*, having firſt taken notice of the great numbers of white people preſent) *That then was a fit time for them* (the negroes) *to riſe*; to which he (*Prince*) anſwered, that he did not think ſo, for as there were a great number of the people, perhaps they might only kill one or two, and then they ſhould be taken, and hanged for it; that it was not a right time to begin now, there was too much trouble in the town; and *York* ſaid no more.

Tickle Pitcher's *examination* and *confeſſion, before the grand Jury.*

NUMB. II.

BEING aſked who brought him into the conſpiracy, and when he went to *Hughſon*'s?

1. He ſaid, 'he was carried there by *Albany*, laſt Whitſontide was twelve months; and the ſecond time was about three weeks after Chriſtmas, when ſeveral negroes preſent, *Hughſon*, *wife*, *daughter*, and *Peggy*; When *Hugh-*

*Hughson* all indicted this month on the 18th, of threatning to burn his house, kill &c. *Hughson* and his family.

Persons therein (negroes) were all sworn

*Will*, Vaarck's. *Fortune*, Vanderspiegle's.*
*Cæsar*, hanged, *Mark*, Benson's.
*Albany*, } Carpenter's. *Prince*, Philipse's.
*Himself*, } *Tiby* and *Kelley*'s. } Latham's.
*London*, (‡) *Another*
*Worcester*, Varian's. *Curacoa Dick*.
*Jack*, Sleydall's. *Cuffee*, Gunner's.
*Old Tom*, Rowe's. *Harry*, Kipp's.
*Quamino*, Pemberton's. *Cato*, Cowley's.
[*Wan*] *Indian*, Low's } Lawrence's *tall*
*Sarah*, Burk's. *negro*.

2. He said, 'that the following persons were one sunday evening at *Comfort*'s.

*Jacky*, } Comfort's. *Sarah*, Burk's.
*Cook*, } *Jack*, Sleydall's.
*Antonio*, De Lancey's. *Ben*, Capt. Marshall's.
*Five other Spanish negroes*, whose names not known. } Comfort's *wench*.
*Cato*, Cowley's.
*Mink*, Groesbeck's. [*Sterling*] Lawrence's *tall negro*.
*Jack*, Breasted's.
*Sawney*, Niblet's. *Dundee*, Todd's.

'That the talk there was the same as at *Hughson*'s, *of setting houses on fire, stealing of goods, and carrying them to* Hughson's, *who was to carry them off*.

3. 'They all pulled out their knives, whetted them, &c. as described by *Sandy*, and took notice of *Sarah*'s threatning *Sandy*, &c.

4. 'That they were sworn at *Comfort*'s, that is to say, those who were not sworn at *Hughson*'s; the oath was given by *Ben*, something of *thunder*.

5. 'That Rowe's *Tom* was to be a drummer to give notice on firing the houses, to kill the people, and plunder.

6. 'Being asked to tell us more of the names of the negroes who were at *Hughson*'s and *Comfort*'s, he said, he does not now remember their names; there were several more.

7. 'Says, *the* Spaniards *had black stuff to set houses on fire*.

8. 'That the tall man *Antonio*, and SARLY's *Juan* had of it; and that *Juan* owned to him in company at *Comfort*'s, *that he set fire to the house of* Ben Thomas.

* Fortune. ‡ Sterling. § Jenny.

9. 'That *Caesar* (Gomez's) told him, he had done [illegible] 'promised, he had set Van Zant's [illegible] fire [illegible] 'which *Tackle* said, you should not have done it, till we [illegible] 'all ready.

10. 'Being asked, if ever he had seen at their meetings at 'Comfort's, and *Hughson's*, Mr. MOORE's *Cato*, ENGLISH's 'Patrick, TODD's *Dundee*, PINTARD's *Caesar*, [illegible] 'Brash; capt. *Lasher*'s negro, (and the governor's [illegible]) 'he answered, he never saw any of them there but *Dundee*: 'Heard ENGLISH's *Patrick's* name called over at *Comfort's*, 'for they had a list of them on a paper.

11. 'And being asked who had the list? He said, [illegible] 'had it; and that there was a list of them at *Hughson's*, as 'well as *Comfort's*.

Yesterday evening and this day, *Thomas Hughson*, yeoman (father of *John Hughson*) and his four sons, *viz. Nathaniel*, *Walter*, *William*, and *Richard*, were taken up and committed to *West Chester* county goal, being charged as confederates in the conspiracy; one son only out of six standing clear of impeachment upon this occasion.

## Supreme Court.

*MONDAY*, 15*th* JUNE,

PRESENT,

*The second and third Justices.*

The KING,

*against*

*Quash*, Rutgers's.
*Ben*, Marshall's,
*Cato*, Cowley's.
*Fortune*, Vanderspiegle's.
*Cato* alias *Toby*, Provoost's.
} Negroes.

THE criminals being placed at the bar, were asked what they had to say, why sentence of death should not be pronounced against them; they offered nothing but protestations of their innocence.

Then the third justice proceeded as followeth.

'YOU, the criminals at the bar, hearken to what is now 'to be said to you.

'You *Ben*, by the course of the evidence appear to have 'been a principal ringleader in this most horrid and devilish 'conspiracy, this master-piece of villainy.

'You

'You, no doubt, were esteemed amongst these infernal confederates, a deep politician; and was therefore fixt upon to be an officer, nothing less than a captain, a commander of an hundred at least.

'And so exact a man were you in your business and trust, that, it seems, *you kept a list*: You say you cannot read: but so active and forward have you appeared in this villainy, that a list of this black band was committed to your care, as appeared in evidence: And you gave sufficient reasons for gaining entire credit with them; for you insinuated yourself into their opinions, by shewing them how useful a person you could be to them, from your master's great indulgence and entire confidence in you: *You could go into any room in his house; you knew where his guns and other arms were, and could come at them; a considerable number, no less than thirty were stored in a room in an outhouse: You rid, and used your master's horse oftener than he did himself*; as you said upon your trial; and therefore could, no doubt, the sooner muster your company, visit your confederates, and make dispatch: These were some particulars of your merits to recommend you to these assassins, these murderers.

'Thou wile wretch! How much does thy ingratitude enhance your guilt! And your hypocritical, canting behaviour upon your trial, your protestations of innocence, your dissimulation before God and man, will be no small article against you at the day of judgment; for ye have all souls to be saved or to be damned; your spirits are immortal, that is to say, they will live for ever, to be either eternally happy or eternally miserable in the other world: And *be not deceived, God will not be mocked*; he will not be baffled withal; he knows all your thoughts, and sees all your actions, and will reward every one according to their works; those that have done good shall go into everlasting rest and happiness; that is to say, into life eternal; and they that have done evil, and dye hardy and impenitent, shall be thrown into the infernal lake of fire and brimstone, together with the Devil and his accursed spirits, where the worm never dyeth; that is, the biting, gnawing worm of conscience will forever be upbraiding you, and the fire will never be quenched; but in this torment you must remain under the most bitter weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth, time without end.

'If

'If you would ever have this your petition heard, then let
'you and admonish you, in compassion to your
'miserable souls, immediately to confess your guilt,
'horrid sins, before God and man, and discover your
'complices, that you may prevent all further
'which may otherwise happen from this your hellish
'spiracy; sincerely and heartily bewail your heinous
'crying sins, and entreat forgiveness of God Almighty;
'for upon these considerations only, can you entertain any
'rational or well grounded hope of being received into the
'arms of his mercy.

'And now, what is the end of all these your most wicked,
'ed, detestable, and horrible devices? Why, you have
'ceeded so far as to put part of your accursed scheme in
'ecution; you have burnt down and consumed the King's
'house and buildings in the fort; the house of Van
'and have made attempts to burn several others, which
'God Almighty in mercy and his wonderful and gracious
'good providence, has prevented, by suffering the flames to
'be timely extinguished; the villanies of these diabolical
'confederates have been detected; many of them have al-
'ready met with their deserts, and are gone to their long
'homes, whither you are in a few hours to follow them;
'for you are now also delivered into the hands of our laws,
'and in this world you must have justice, and you are left
'to the mercy of God in the next.

'What has already been said, is applicable, most of it,
'to every one of you.

'And in as particular a manner, *Quash*, may you be
'upbraided with the like reproaches for your ingratitude;
'for as we have been informed, you have likewise had a
'very indulgent master, who has put great trust and confi-
'dence in you; it may be presumed, from your having
'better sense than the rest of his negroes; how vilely then
'have you abused his indulgence! In return for kindness,
'you wretches, would imbrue your hands in the blood of
'your masters, and their families; you that would destroy
'without mercy, with what face can you expect mercy at
'the hands of God, unless you acknowledge every one his
'guilt, and bewail it with hearty sorrow, and sincere tears
'of repentance; and beseech his forgiveness; laying open
'the whole wicked scheme, and discovering your several
'confederates and accomplices, all the parties concerned;
'so that an effectual stop may be put to all further mischief:

'Upon

'Upon these conditions only can you expect mercy at the 'hands of God Almighty.

'As to you, *Caesar*, and you *Fortune*,

'You appear, indeed, to have been inferior agents; but 'your hearts as corrupt and ripe for mischief as any of the 'rest; you have all alike taken, *that hellish, execrable oath*, 'and equally bound yourselves in that villainous engagement; 'not only to burn and consume your master's substance; 'but to murder and destroy their persons and families; you 'were as willing and ready as the ablest of them to act 'your parts in this bloody scheme.

'It is a very irksome task to pronounce that sentence 'which the law requires of us; for we delight not in any 'man's blood; but the law adjudges you unfit to live.

'Therefore the sentence against you is,

'That you, each and every of you, be carried from 'hence to the place from whence you came, from thence to 'the place of execution, where you *Ben*, and you *Quash*, are 'to be each of you chained to a stake, and burnt to death.

'And you *Cato* (Mr. Provoost's) you *Cato* (Mr. Cow-'ley's) and you *Forsaw*, are each and every of you to be 'hanged by the neck until you be severally dead.

'And the Lord, of his infinite mercy, have compassion 'upon your poor wretched souls.

*Ordered*, That the execution of *Cato* (Cowley's) *Fortune* and *Cato* alias *Toby*, be on the morrow the 16th instant, between the hours of nine and one of the same day; And

That the execution of *Ben* and *Quash* be on the morrow the 16th instant, between the hours of three and seven o' clock of the afternoon of the same day.

The KING,
*against*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Antonio, | De Lancey's. | *Slaves.* |
| Antonio, | Mesnard's. | |
| Juan *alias* Wan, | Sarly's. | |
| Pablo *al.* Powlus, | Becker's. | |
| Augustine, | M'Mullen's. | |

This being the day appointed for the trial of these prisoners as slaves upon an indictment for the conspiracy, on which they were arraigned on saturday last, they were brought to the bar in order to proceed thereon: But they complained (as it is supposed, they were advised) that they had great injustice done them by being sold here as slaves; for that, as they pretended, they were freemen in their own country, and gave in their several surnames.

The

The indictment was grounded upon an act of assembly, which enumerated several offences; and conspiracies among the rest; and made one slave evidence against another; so that this fetch might probably be calculated to take off the negro evidence: The prisoners all protested they could not speak english; *and as* Mary Burton *was the only witness against them*, and should it be credited that they could speak only in a tongue which she did not understand, how could she tell what passed between them in conversation at *Hughson's*? Thus their advisers might think they would stand the best chance for the jury to acquit them.

The court deferred their trial till wednesday the 17th instant.

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

*The examination of* Fortune (Latham's) *negro.*

*Before the grand jury.*

*He said,*

'THAT about five months ago being at *Comfort's* on 'a holiday, he met there *Jack* and *Cook* (COMFORT's) and *Harry* (FURMAN's) and *Comfort's* old negro woman; that *Jack* and *Cook* went out of the house and 'left him with *Harry*, who asked him if he would not be 'concerned with them, *in helping them to kill the white people?* Which was all that passed at that time; and he never had any other meeting with them afterwards: nor did 'any of them ever after talk with him on that subject; and 'that this is all that he knew of the plot.'

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Tickle's* examination and confession, § 4. *12th June.*

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY*, 16*th* JUNE.

PRESENT,

*The second and third Justices.*

* 4th GEO. II. For the more effectual preventing and punishing the conspiracy and insurrection of negro and other slaves, &c. before mentioned on trial of Quack and Cuffee, 29th May.

The

THE KING,
*against*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| York, | MARSCHALK'S, | Negroes. |
| London, | KIP'S, | |
| Harry, | B. MOORE'S, | |
| Tom, | BRUYNIER'S, | |
| Cato, | GROESBECK'S, | |
| Mink, | | |

THE prisoners being put to the bar, were arraigned on an indictment for the conspiracy, &c. and *York, London, Harry* and *Cato*, pleaded *not guilty*; and *Tom* and *Mink* pleaded *guilty*, and submitted themselves to the mercy of the court.

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning nine o'clock.

This day the negroes *Cato* (Cowley's) *Fortune* (Vanderspiegle's) *Cato* alias *Toby*, *Ben* and *Quash*, were executed according to their respective sentences.

Supreme Court.

*WEDNESDAY*, 17th JUNE.

PRESENT,

*The second and third Justices.*

The KING,
*against*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Antonio, | DE LANCEY'S, | Spanish negroes. |
| Antonio, | MESNARD'S, | |
| Pablo, | BECKER'S, | |
| Juan *alias* Wan, | SARLY'S, | |
| Auguſtine, | M'MULLER'S, | |

THE prisoners being set to the bar, were arraigned upon a second indictment, for counselling and advising the negro *Quack* to burn the fort, &c. by the names of *Antonio de St. Benedito, Antonio de la Cruz, Pablo Ventura Angel, Juan de la Sylva, Auguſtini Gutierez*; whereto they severally pleaded, *not guilty*, &c.

Then the court proceeded upon their trials on both indictments.

Jury called, and the following jurors sworn, *viz.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *John Bell*, | *Tobias Stoutenburg*, |
| *Robert Provoost*, | *Cornelius Begart*, |
| *Charles Jandyne*, | *Stenwick Deriemer*, |

*Andrew*

*Andrew Jereau*, *George Barret*,
*John Dyer*, *Charles Beekman*, jun.
*Evert Bywank*, *Samuel Dunscomb*.

JOSEPH MURRAY,
JAMES ALEXANDER,
JOHN CHAMBERS,
} Esqrs. Of counsel for the King.

Mr. *Chambers* opened the indictment.

Mr. *Gomez* sworn interpreter.

Witnesses for the KING called.

*Mary Burton* sworn. She said, 'That she had seen many 'meetings of the negroes at *Hughson's*, and especially about 'new-year's; and that it was the common talk among them 'and the *Hughsons*, *that they would burn the town and mur-* '*der the people*; *that* Hughson *swore the negroes to be true* 'to him, and to each other, and not to discover; that they 'were to burn the fort, then the city, and murder the peo- 'ple. *That* Hughson *said*, they would burn *Lush's* house, 'and tie *Lush* to a beam, and roast him like a piece of beef. 'That there were several great meetings there; and that 'she had seen *Anthony* (De Lancey's) often there at nights; 'that he was there when they talked about fires, and some 'of them said, *the Spaniards could fight well*.——That she 'thought the said *Anthony* was there about new-year; but 'was sure she saw him there often in *March*, and that he 'often spoke to her in *english*; and that she had heard him 'say, *while the* York *negroes killed one, the* Spaniards *could* 'kill twenty: That he used to come upon the shingles and 'get into *Peggy's* window.——That she had seen all the pri- 'soners at *Hughson's*, when they were talking about the 'plot, and they were consenting.

*Sawney* said, he knew Mr. *De Lancey's Antonio*, and 'heard him say, with five other Spaniards, pointing to capt. 'Lush's house, d——n that son of a bitch, if he did not re- 'ly them to their own country, *they would ruin the city*, 'and play the devil with him: that they spoke *English*; 'and this happened near capt. *Lush's* house: and capt. 'Lush's negro [*Juan*] said, he would first burn *Lush's* house, 'and then his master's.—That one of them rolled something 'black in his hand, and broke it, and gave to the rest; 'which was to be thrown on the houses, to set fire to the 'shingles in several places.——That the brewer's negro '[*Pablo*] was also there: that this was the first time he heard 'any thing about the plot.——That one sunday, going for 'tea water, he saw Mr. *Philipse's Caffee* at his master's

'storehouse,

'storehouse, and in future, that if he was hanged or burnt 'he would fire the storehouse. That he then went to 'Comfort's, where there were many negroes, and six Spanish 'negroes, amongst them *Mathew*'s negro [*Augustine*] and 'Mr. *Manwaring*'s [*Antonio*], when they made him (the witness) 'drink rum; and they what their intent was, and said they 'were sharp, and would cut the white men's heads off; 'and they agreed to burn the fort and their master's houses; 'to kill their masters and take the white women for wives; 'and they swore upon the book to be true to each other; 'That that man or woman that should go to forsake the 'fort, was burnt: that what he heard was first moved 'about the middle of last summer; that he heard Mr. *Bell*'s negro [*Augustine*] and *Wilkins*'s *Fortune* agree each of them to burn his master's house, which was near Mr. *Smith* the tavern-keeper's, before the fort was burnt.

Mr. *George Fenwick Allen*, called and sworn.

He proved the confessions of *Quack* and *Cæsar* at the bar.

He said, 'That they declared the *Spanish* negroes were 'most of them concerned in the plot; that they did not 'name any names but referred to *Sawney*, who, they said, 'could name them all.

*Jack* (Comfort's negro) said, 'That after new-year 'there was a great company of negroes at *Hughson*'s on a 'sunday evening; that he went with capt. *Marshall*'s *Ben* 'thither, and he supped there, and all the prisoners were 'present, which was in *February*; that all present agreed 'to burn the town, and they were all sworn.—That ten 'days before the fort was burnt, they had a meeting at his 'master's [*Comfort*'s] and there *they all swore to burn the 'town, and kill the people*; that they were first to begin at 'Mr. *De Lancey*'s, and so to go to the fort; that they sharp-'ened their knives, and he let nine have knives that had 'none: that he bought the knives of *Pible* for half a crown: 'that there was only two *Spaniards* there, to wit, *Antonio* '(Mr. *De Lancey*'s) and *Pablo* (Becker's) and that Mr. *De 'Lancey*'s negro said he had stuff to throw on the houses 'to make them get fire, which *Hughson* had talked about 'before.—*That they were to stay a month and an half for 'the* Spaniards, *and if they did not come, to begin themselves.*

*Ticklepitcher* said, 'That about three weeks after new-'year he saw all the prisoners at *Hughson*'s on a sunday 'evening with one *Spanish* negro more; and Mr. *De Lan-*

'*cey*'s

'cey's negro [*Antonio*] had something black, which he
'was to throw on houses to set them on fire; and he was to
'pieces, and gave it to several of the negroes. That
'witness] did not then stay at *Hughson's*, to hear
'what they talked of. That afterwards there was a
'meeting of the negroes at *Comfort's*, and he saw
'*Augustine* there, and he was agreed by those present to set
'town on fire, and kill the white people, and there rob the
'penned their houses. That Mr. Nisbet's *Sawney* was
'there, and Burke's *Sarah*, who told him, that they had
'making a plot to kill the white people, burn the town,
'and to steal the money and goods, and go off: that
'two room full of them; some were in the kitchen, and
'the shop.

'*Bastian* said, he knew all the prisoners, and had known
'them ever since the meeting at *Hughson's*, which was a
'little after the New-year, where the prisoners all were;
'that it was on a sunday afternoon, that *Cæsar* and his
'son took him aside, and *Cæsar* asked him, if he would
'as they did; which was to endeavour to be their own
'sters; that upon his refusing, *Cæsar* put a pistol to his
'breast, and threatened him, and then he consented.
'That then they went in the room to the rest of the ne-
'groes, where *it was agreed to burn the fort first*, and by
'*Mr.* De Lancey's, *them in the Fly*; and each to set fire to their
'*master's houses, and they were to murder the white people.*
'That this meeting was three or four weeks before the fort
'was burnt. That *Quack* was pitched upon to set fire to
'the fort: *that they were to wait a month and a half for the*
'French *and* Spaniards, *and if they did not come they were*
'*to begin themselves.* That *Hughson* put his name in a pa-
'per, when he consented: that afterwards they had a meet-
'ing at *Comfort's* where they ground some clasp knives.
'That *Sawney* came there, and Comfort's *Jack* called him
'in and gave him a dram, and at last, after threatning him,
'*Sawney* agreed to be concerned in the plot. That the pri-
'soners *Antonio*, De Lancey's, and *Pablo*, Becker's Spa-
'negroes were then there, and consented. That several
'*fort's some were in the kitchin, some in the shop.* That
'Mr. *De Lancey's* negro *Antonio had something black in his*
'*hand, which he cut and gave to other negroes to throw in hou-*
'*ses to set them on fire.* That *Hughson* proposed burning the
'fort before any thing else; because *at a former rising, the*
'*white people run into the fort*; he said, if that was set on
'fire it would blow up the powder, &c.

*Richard Nicholls*, Esq; deputy register of the admiralty, sworn.

He said, 'That the nineteen negroes and molatoes, 'taken and brought in by capt. *Lusk*, were libelled in the court 'of admiralty, as *Spanish* slaves, and condemned as such in '*May* 1740; and *Pablo*, Becker's, was condemned as a 'slave taken by capt. *Kierstead*.

*John Crugier*, Esq; Vendue-master.

He said, 'That he afterwards sold *Antonio*, De Lancey's; '*Antonio*, Mesnard's; and *Juan*, Sarly's, at Vendue.

Capt. *John Lusk* sworn.

He said, 'That *Juan*, Sarly's, could speak *English*, and '*Antonio*, De Lancey's, could speak a little, so as to be 'understood.

*William Douglass* sworn.

*He said*, 'He was taken in capt. *Hinman*'s vessel with 'Mr. *De Lancey*'s *Antonio*'s brother; that they were car-'ried into the *Havanna*, and that a gentleman there bought '*Antonio*'s brother as a slave, and said he knew him and his 'family at *Carthagena*, and that they were slaves.

Mr. *Benson*, partner with Mr. *Becker*, *Pablo*'s master, sworn.

Being asked whether he had any such clasp knives as *Jack* (Comfort's) had described, and said he had bought of *Pablo*? He answered, 'That he had a parcel of clasp knives; 'but whether he had sold them, or whether he had them still, 'he could not say; but that he would go home and see, if 'the court pleased.

[And he going accordingly, and being returned,]

Said, 'That upon search he found that he had none of 'those knives left, but one; that his wife told him, that 'they had brought but three of them when they came to *Bec-'ker*'s.—He said, that *Pablo* talked very broken English, *but 'he could make a shift to understand him.*

Witnesses for the prisoner *Antonio*, (De Lancey's.)

Mr. *Peter de Lancey*, merchant, said,

'That his negro went to his farm in the country last fall, 'and did not return till two days after the fire at the fort: 'that he was not there all the while himself, but was fre-'quently there, and saw him lame, his feet being frozen, and 'he did not think he could have been in town in that time.

*Abraham Peltreau* said,

'That Mr. *De Lancey*'s negro went up with him to the 'farm before Christmas, and came down with him after

'the fort was burnt; and that his feet were frozen after the 'first great ſnow, and does not know that he was in town 'all the winter: that his feet were well ſome time before 'he came down.

Witneſſes for *Antonio* (MESNARD's.)

Dr. *Dupuy* ſenior, ſaid,

'That *Antonio* (Meſnard's) feet were frozen, and that 'he dreſſed them during *December* and *January* laſt.

Dr. *Dupuy* junior, ſaid,

'That the latter end of *November* and *December* laſt, this 'negro was ill; and he ſaw his toes in *December*, and then 'they were bad, ſo that he could not walk; but he did not 'know whether he was able to walk in *February* or not: that 'he [*Antonio*] came to his father's houſe the *beginning or mid-* 'dle of *March*, the time he could not exactly ſay, *but it* 'was before the fire at the fort.

*Gilbert Budd* ſaid,

'That he dreſſed this negro from the middle of *Novem-* 'ber to the 5th or 6th of *March* laſt; that he thinks Mrs. 'Meſnard told him, that he came down ſtairs about the lat- 'ter end of *February*, when his feet grew bad again; for 'they had been better before.

*Francis Dupuy* ſaid,

'He thought the negro was not able to walk in *Febru-* 'ry; but believed he came to his father's houſe to be dreſ- 'ed while Mr. *Budd* was in *Philadelphia*, which was be- 'tween the 6th and 11th of *March*.—That this negro ſpoke 'to him in broken Engliſh.

Mrs. *Meſnard*, this negro's miſtreſs, ſaid,

'That he was not down ſtairs from *November* till the '17th of *March*, and *ſhe believed it was not poſſible for him* 'to be abroad at that time.

Witneſs for *Juan*.

Capt. *Jacob Sarly*, his maſter, ſaid,

'That when the fire was at Mr. *Thomas*'s, *Juan* his ne- 'gro firſt diſcovered it to his wife, as ſhe told him; and 'that he never had a more faithful ſervant; and when he 'was at home, the negro could not be out after nine at 'night.—That one *Don Juan* told him by an interpreter, 'that he heard *that his negro was free*.

*Further*, 'That he was not always at home himſelf, *but* 'he did not believe his negro had been out.

Witneſs

Witneſs for *Pablo*.

*Frederic Becker*, *Pablo*'s maſter, ſaid,

'That his negro was brought into this country by capt. '*Boyd*, in *January* laſt, and *was ſick* in his houſe till ſome 'time in *March*.

Witneſſes for *Auguſtine*.

*Mc Mullen* his maſter, ſaid,

'That his negro *was ſick* all the winter, and did not 'know that he was abroad all the winter.—In *February* he 'had an ague, as the doctor ſaid, that he kept his bed moſt 'of the time, but not conſtant but about a week.——That 'he always behaved very well, and capt. *Warren* gave him 'a very good character.—That he was brought by capt. '*Warren* into this country, who offered to ſell him to 'him for 70 l. but they did not agree.

*William Quinland* ſaid,

'He lived at Mr. *Mc Mullen*'s, and that this negro be-'haved very well; *that he did not know that he had been out 'all the winter till Eaſter*.

*Thomas Palmer* ſaid to the ſame purpoſe.

The Priſoners upon their defence denied all in general that was alledged againſt them, and made great proteſtations of their innocence; and moſt of them *pretended to have been ſick or lame*, ſo that they were incapable of going abroad from new-year to the time of the fire at the fort, [the eighteenth of *March*] neither could they ſpeak Engliſh.

*Antonio*, (De Lancey's) ſaid in particular, that his maſter and the overſeer could prove that he had been lame, and was in the country all the winter, and that his maſter had him to town a little after the fort was burnt; and that he had not kept company with any negroes ſince he came to the country.

*Auguſtine* ſaid he had been ſick ever ſince he came here; that he knew no negroes, kept no company but *Mc Mullen*'s apprentices.

*Pablo* or *Powlus* ſaid, that he kept no company with negroes ſince he came here; *he had not been uſed to keep company with negroes* [*or ſlaves*] in his own country.

*Juan* or *Wan* ſpoke much to the ſame purpoſe, *he did not uſe to keep company with negroes* [*or ſlaves.*]

*Antonio* (Meſnard's) *was ſick and lame*, &c.

Act of aſſembly read, 4th George II. For the more effectual preventing and puniſhing the conſpiracy and inſurrection of negroes, &c.

Act of parliament read, 4th and 5th PH. and MARY, ch. 4.

Mr. *Chambers* ſummed up the evidence againſt [illegible] (De LANCEY's) *Antonio* (Meſnard's) and *Paul*.

Mr. *Murray* ſummed up againſt *Auguſtine* and [illegible]

Then the court charged the jury as followeth.

'*Gentlemen of the jury*,

'The priſoners at the bar ſtand charged upon two [illegible] indictments, for conſpiring to burn and deſtroy this city, and murder the inhabitants.

'The one indictment is grounded upon an act of aſſembly of this province, ſuppoſing them to be ſlaves, by which act the teſtimony of one negro ſlave ſhall be legal evidence againſt another.

'But it has been made a queſtion, whether theſe priſoners, now before us, are ſlaves or not; and the priſoners themſelves pretend to be free ſubjects of the King of *Spain*, with whom we are now at war, from whom they have been taken, and made prize, and have been condemned, and adjudged as ſuch in the court of admiralty here, without any plea being offered there, or ſo much as any claim or pretence of the priſoners being entitled to any privilege, as being free ſubjects of *Spain*; and ſurely there never could have been a more proper time and ſeaſon for them to have ſet up ſuch pretence, as when their cauſe was depending before the court of admiralty, where they ſhould have offered it by way of plea; eſpecially conſidering, that by their neglect of that opportunity, they muſt well know the conſequence would be their being adjudged as part of the goods and chattels of the ſubjects of *Spain*, would be condemned as lawful prize, and would alſo be ſold as ſlaves; but if this pretence had been offered there, (as it was not) and they could not have proved the truth of the plea, it would not have availed them, but they muſt have been adjudged to be ſlaves.

'But they have made that pretence in this court; and what has been offered in ſupport of it? Why, there have been ſeveral witneſſes that have ſpoke to the point; and what is the amount of their teſtimony? Why it is no more than the hearſay of an hearſay of a perſon, who imagined or believed, that they, or moſt of the *Spaniſh* negroes taken by capt. *Luſh* were freemen; but which of them were, or were not, he could not ſay; nor does it appear

'that

'that the priſoners at the bar, or any of them, are ſuch 'of capt. *Lyell*'s prize priſoners, as that the ſaid *Spaniſh* 'gentleman imagined were free: for it was no more than 'his imagination, as to any of them being ſuch.

'You have heard the adjudication and decree of the 'court of admiralty read, by which it appears, they were 'condemned as prizes and that they were ſold as ſlaves, 'has been proved by the Vendue-maſter; therefore for what 'appears now before the court, it ſhould ſeem, that they 'really are ſlaves: and as nothing appears to ſufficient or 'proper evidence appears to the contrary; then if you take 'them upon theſe conſiderations, to be ſlaves; all the ne-'gro evidence which has been given upon this trial againſt 'them, is legal evidence; and ſo you are to conſider of that 'teſtimony, and let it have it's full force; and if you ſhould 'have ſufficient reaſons in your own conſciences to diſcre-'dit them, and that notwithſtanding the weight of that 'evidence, you can think them, or any of them, not guil-'ty, you will then ſay ſo, and acquit them, or ſuch of 'them as you think innocent as to the charge of this indict-'ment, upon the act of aſſembly.

'*Gentlemen*,

'The priſoners having ſtarted this pretence, of being 'free ſubjects of the King of *Spain*, in caſe it ſhould have 'happened upon this trial, as we think it has not, that there 'ſhould be ſufficient evidence to ſhew that the priſoners 'were freemen; if we could take them to be ſuch; is it 'fit, that perſons guilty of ſo atrocious and enormous 'crimes (let them be free or bond) ſuch execrable villains 'ſhould miſs of their deſerved puniſhments and eſcape the 'juſtice of the law? Surely, that would be very unbecom-'ing, that ſuch wickedneſs ſhould be ſuffered with impu-'nity in any well regulated government or ſociety: there-'fore, be they freemen, or be they ſlaves, the main queſ-'tion before you is, whether they, or any, or which of them 'are guilty of the charge againſt them, in the ſecond indict-'ment, of conſpiring with other ſlaves and perſons to burn 'the houſe in the fort, to burn the town, and murder and 'deſtroy the people.

'To prove the charge in this indictment, there was the 'teſtimony of *Mary Burton*: I muſt obſerve to you, that her 'teſtimony, as to the charge in this indictment, is ſingle; 'there is no other witneſs; but nevertheleſs, *gentlemen*, 'one witneſs is ſufficient; and if you give credit to her teſ-

'timony, you will, no doubt, discharge a good conscience, 'and find them guilty; if you should have sufficient reason in 'your own minds to discredit her testimony, if you can think 'so, you must then acquit them: the prisoners seem all to 'be equally involved, by her testimony, in this unparallel- 'led and hellish conspiracy, and there is no room to make 'any difference between them: therefore, you must either 'acquit them all, or find them all guilty.'

Then the jury withdrew, and in about half an hour returned, and found them all GUILTY.

The KING,
*against*
Sarah Hughson, *and*
Jamaica, *a negro*.

The judges having advised with his honour the lieutenant governor, *ordered*, the execution of *Sarah Hughson* and *Jamaica* be further respited till next friday seven-night; though with respect to *Sarah* this was a mere act of mercy; for she yet remained inflexible.

The court adjourned to friday the 19th instant, ten o'clock in the morning.

## *THURSDAY*, 18*th* JUNE.

*The confession of* Mink, *negro of* John Groesbeck,
*Before the Grand Jury.*

*He said*,

'THAT in the winter *Hughson* met him in the woods, 'and carried him to his house, and gave him to 'drink, and asked him to join in the conspiracy; and he 'consented, and *was sworn by* Hughson *on a book; that 'thunder and lightning might strike him dead, if he did not 'comply*, &c.

*He said*, 'He was there in all three times; and named 'a few [negroes] who were executed [that were there] 'but none else.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Sarah*, (Burk's) negro wench exam. N°. II. 1*st June*.
*Tickle*'s examination, § 4. 12*th June*.
*York* (Marschalk's) examination, § 6. 20*th June*.

The

*The confeſſion of* Tom, Ben. Moore's *negro,*
*Before the Grand Jury.*

*He ſaid,*

1. 'THAT *Cuffee*, Philipſe's, was the firſt man that engaged him in the conſpiracy; that he went with 'him to *Hughſon*'s, where he treated him with punch; that 'this was about the beginning of the winter, when the cold 'weather was coming in, on a ſaturday, and the firſt time 'of his being at *Hughſon*'s houſe; at which time nothing 'was ſaid or done remarkable.

2. 'That about a week after he went there again on a 'ſunday, with the ſaid *Cuffee*, *Prince*, Auboyneau's; and '*Cæſar*, Vaarck's; that ſoon after they got to *Hughſon*'s, '*Cæſar and Cuffee* went out of the houſe, and *Prince* aſked 'him (*Tom*) if he would be concerned with them in what 'they were going about to do? On which he aſked, what 'that was? To which *Prince* replied, that he ſhould know 'it when *Cæſar* and *Cuffee* returned.

3. 'That ſoon after *Cuffee* and *Cæſar* came in, and then 'the ſame queſtion was aſked him again; to which he anſwered as before, by aſking of them what they were going 'about? *Cuffee* then replied, that *they were going to burn 'houſes*; *that he* (Cuffee) *would burn his maſter's houſe*, 'where there was money enough; that he (*Tom*) ſhould 'have a ſhare of it.

4. 'That he refuſed to be concerned with them, ſaying, 'that he durſt not do it; for the white people would play 'the devil with them; but *Cuffee* anſwered, that he needed 'not to fear that, for that he had got *people enough to ſtand 'by them*; and then he (*Tom*) told them, he would conſider 'on it; and then they broke up: This being the ſecond 'meeting at *Hughſon*'s; at which, neither *Hughſon*, nor 'any other perſon was preſent.

5. 'That about four or five days after, he met *Cæſar* in 'the ſtreet, who told him, that if he would go down yonder '(meaning to *Hughſon*'s) he would come to him; that he 'went down, and ſoon after *Cæſar* came to him, and called 'for ſome punch; that when they had drank, *Cæſar* aſked him, 'if he would be concerned with them in what they were go'ing to do; that he anſwered, he would not, for he did not 'like it: *Cæſar* took the punch, and drank to him again; 'and when that tankard was out, he called for another, and 'drank to him again; and then aſked him, why he refuſed 'to be concerned with them; telling him, that at their laſt

'meeting, he ſaid he would conſider of it; on which he '(*Tom*) being heated with liquor, ſaid, he would join with 'them; and then *Hughſon* was called on, *who came with a* 'book, *and ſwore him; the purport of the oath being to be ſe-* 'cret, *and true to one another.*

6. 'That the next day after, he went again to *Hughſon's*, 'in the evening by himſelf; but finding none of the reſt 'there, he returned ſpeedily; and to the beſt of his remem- 'brance, this was the laſt time that he went there.

7. 'That ſome days after he met *Cuffee* in the ſtreet, who 'aſked him when he would go down again to *Hughſon's*? 'that he anſwered him, he would go there no more; that 'he was ſorry for what he had done; for what they were 'going about was a very great ſin; that *Cuffee* then called 'him a fool, and told him, *that if he thought it a wrong* 'thing, *or a ſin, there was a man that he knew, that could* 'forgive him: That while they were ſpeaking, *Cæſar* came 'to them, and then *Cuffee* told him, that he (*Tom*) was go- 'ing to leave them; on which *Cæſar* curſed him, and ſaid, 'if he did, or ſpoke a word of what had paſſed among them, 'he had a pocket piſtol, and would be the death of him; but '*Cæſar* as well as *Cuffee* told him, *that if he was in any pain* 'about what they were going to do, as a ſin, there was AN OLD 'MAN *in town, who they knew, that could forgive them.*

8. 'That ſome time after, *Cæſar* came to him on *Bay-* 'ard's wharf, and threatened to throw him into the river, 'if he fell off from them, or informed any body what they 'were going to do; that he (*Tom*) was afraid, and told him, 'that he would be true to them; and ſo they parted; and 'that ever after he ſhunned them, and never was at any 'time in company with them, neither at publick or private 'meetings.

9. 'That one ſunday he had a mind to diſcloſe this deſign 'and conſpiracy to Mr. *Ogilvie*, and went to him for that 'purpoſe; that he told him, that he had ſomething to tell 'him, which was a very great ſin, and would ſurprize him; 'but *Ogilvie* anſwered, that he was going to church, and 'bid him come when the church was out, and he would 'hear him: That he did not go to Mr. *Ogilvie* after church 'was out, nor did he ever after ſay any thing to him about it.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Sandy*'s examination, N° III. § 8. 1ſt *June.*
*York* (Marſchalk's) examination, § 6. 20th *June.*
*Pompey* (De Lancey's) examination, § 3. 22d *June.*

Supreme

Supreme Court.

*FRIDAY*, 19th JUNE.

PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING,
*againſt*

York, London, Harry, Cato, } MARSCHALK's, KIPP's, SHURMUR's, } *Negroes.*

*On trial upon indictment for the conſpiracy.*

JURY called, and the following jurors ſworn, *viz.*

*Lawrence Garner*, *John Van Gelder*,
*Joſeph Sacket*, *Thomas Grigg*,
*John Sayer*, *John Begart*,
*John Smith*, *James Charlton*,
*Charles Arding*, *Iſaac Van Hook*,
*Peter Evoutſe*, *Johannis Rooſbe*.

Mr. MURRAY, Mr. CHAMBERS, } Of council for the KING.

MR. *Chambers* opened the indictment, and then both proceeded to examine the witneſſes.

*Jack*, Comfort's negro, told his whole ſtory of the plot, from *Ben*'s firſt mentioning it to him at *Comfort*'s; ſaid that *London*, *York* and *Cato* were at the great meeting and entertainment at *Hughſon*'s; and that after the cloth was taken away by *Hughſon*'s daughter, and the knives and plates by *Mary Burton*, *Hughſon* began to talk to the negroes, and ſaid, *that negroes could do as well as white people, and now was a good time to make a plot*; others ſay, no, ſtay one month and a half till the *Spaniards* come, and if they did not come then they would try for themſelves: *That they all preſent ſwore to the plot; all to ſet fire to the houſes, and kill the people*: Some agreed to begin with their maſters and miſtreſſes houſes. That *Cato* told him that *he put* Ben Thomas's *houſe on fire*, and that he ſtruck fire with a ſteel to do it.---That *York* ſaid, he would kill his miſtreſs before he came abroad, * *York* was to be a *captain*, and *London*

* As the negroes told their ſtory, they were firſt to kill their maſters and miſtreſſes, and then to come abroad, (i. e. out in the ſtreets) to fight.

to be an officer under him.—That a week and a half after this, the negroes had a great meeting at his (*i. e.* his master's) house; that he did not see *Harry* at *Comfort*'s or *Hughson*'s. ——That *York* said at *Comfort*'s, he had no occasion for a knife, he would get a sword; and *London* said at *Comfort*'s, he did not care what he did, or what became of his master or mistress.

*Bastian* said, he saw *York* and *London* at the two great meetings at *Hughson*'s and *Comfort*'s, each on a sunday; and that the negroes all present agreed *to burn their masters houses, and to kill the people*: to burn the fort first, then to fire by Mr. *De Lancey*'s.—Ben *swore them all.*—That by direction of *Cæsar*, (hanged) *Hughson put the witness's name down in a paper*, as a person engaged in the conspiracy; *Cæsar* said, he [the witness] was a faint-hearted dog, but he would spirit him up: That *London* said, his master would trust him in his house more than *York*, and he could easier get into any room, and murder him.—That both *York* and *London* ground their knives at *Comfort*'s; one had a knife of his own, the other took one of *Jack*'s: That he saw *Cato* and *Harry* at the great meeting at *Hughson*'s, where 'twas agreed, that the negroes were to get their masters arms, *to burn their houses, and to murder them*—— That this meeting was three or four weeks before the fort was burnt, the meeting at *Comfort*'s was the sunday after.—That he saw only *Harry* at *Comfort*'s; he took a knife of *Jack*; the negroes all whetted their knives, and some said they were sharp enough to cut the white men's heads off.——This witness gave an account of the treatment of *Sandy* at *Comfort*'s, that upon *Sandy*'s denying *Jack* to be concerned in the plot, and telling him, that if they wanted to fight, they might go and fight with the *Spaniards*, and not with their own masters and mistresses; that thereupon *Sarah* (Burk's negro wench) told *Sandy* he was *very impudent to talk so to capt. Jack*, and that he deserved to have his head cut off.

*Tickle*, a negro, said, he was at the great meeting at *Hughson*'s on a sunday; that *Hughson* said to the negroes, *now there was so many met together, it was a good time to make a plot*; and he proposed to them, that they should set fire to the houses, steal as many goods as they could and bring them to him, and as the people came out of their houses they were to kill them; so to fire the houses all around the town. That he saw *Harry* at *Hughson*'s, and he agreed to set his mistress's house on fire, and to kill the people.

ple. That Hughſon *ſtiles all* the negroes of the plot at that meeting, and *then put their names down on a paper*: That he ſaw *Cato*, the priſoner, at the meeting at *Comfort's*.

*Sandy*, a negro, gave the ſame account as on former trials concerning the negroes meeting at *Comfort's*, and what paſſed there: Saw *Harry* (Kipp's negro) at the meeting at *Comfort's*, but did not remember to have ſeen any of the other priſoners there.

Mr. *George Joſeph Moore* and *Jane Lovell* ſworn.

Mr. *Moore* proved the confeſſions of *Quack* and *Cuffee* at the ſtake the 30th of *May*, and ſaid, that both the criminals did there declare, that *Harry* (Kipp's) was concerned in the conſpiracy.

*Jane Lovell* ſaid, that the day Mr. *Philipſe's* ſtorehouſe was on fire, *Mink* (Groeſbeck's negro) was coming from his maſter's Rope-walk with a coil of ropes, and he and the priſoner *Cato* ſtopp'd by her houſe; and ſhe ſaid to them, that all this trouble was occaſioned by them; to which *Mink* anſwered, he wiſhed all concerned were tied to a ſtake and burnt; whereto *Cato* replied, *he was a fool, if he knew as much as he did, he would hold his tongue.*

Theſe were all the notes that were taken upon this trial: See the ſeveral negro examinations and confeſſions affecting the priſoners.

*As to* London.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Jack*, Comfort's, examin. | N°. I. § 2, 5, 31. | | 8th *June.* |
| *Baſtian's* examination, | I. § 7, 10. | | 11th *June.* |

*As to* York.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Jack*, Comfort's, exam. | N°. I. § 2, 4, 24, 31. | | 8th *June.* |
| *Baſtian's* examination, | I. § 7, 10. | | 11th *June.* |
| *Prince* (Crooke's) examination. | | | 13th *June.* |

*As to* Harry.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Cuff*, Philipſe's, confeſſion at the ſtake, | § 3. | | 30th *May.* |
| *Quack*, Rooſevelt's, confeſſion at the ſtake, | § 2. | | 30th *May.* |
| *Sandy's* examination, | N° III. | § 8. | 1ſt *June.* |
| *Sarah*, Burk's examination, | II. | | 1ſt *June.* |
| | III. | | 5th *June.* |
| *Baſtian's* examination | I. | | 11th *June.* |
| *Tickle's* examination and confeſſion, | | § 4. | 12th *June.* |

*As to* Cato.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Sarah*, Burk's, examination, | N° II. | | 1ſt *June.* |
| *Jack*, Comfort's, exam. | N° I. § 2, 7, 31. | | 8th *June.* |
| *Baſtian's* examination | I. | | 11th *June.* |

The priſoners upon their defence ſtiffly denied all that had been teſtified againſt them.

Act

Act of aſſembly, 4th Geo. II. *For the more effectual preventing and puniſhing the conſpiracy and inſurrection of negroes and other ſlaves*, &c. was read.

Then the counſel ſumm'd up the evidence againſt the priſoners; and the court having charged the jury, they withdrew; and after a ſhort ſtay, returned, and found the priſoners GUILTY.

THE lieutenant governor having this day iſſued a proclamation with the advice of his Majeſty's council; the ſame was read in court, taking notice of the conſpiracy which had been ſet on foot, abetted, encouraged and carried on by ſeveral white people in conjunction with divers *Spaniſh* negroes brought hither from the *Weſt-Indies*, and a great number of other negroes within this city and country, *for the burning and deſtroying this whole city, and murdering the inhabitants thereof*; TO THE END, that mercy might be ſhewn to ſuch as might merit the ſame, his honour thought it neceſſary, and did thereby in his Majeſty's name, offer and promiſe his Majeſty's moſt gracious pardon to any and every perſon and perſons, whether white people, free negroes, ſlaves, or others, who had been or were concerned in the ſaid conſpiracy, who ſhould on or before the *firſt* day of *July* then next, *voluntarily, freely and fully diſcover, and confeſſion* make, of his, her or their confederates, accomplices, or others concerned in the ſaid conſpiracy, and his, her, and their part or ſhare, actings and doings therein; ſo that the perſon or perſons making ſuch diſcovery and confeſſion were not thereof before convicted, arraigned, or indicted for the ſame.

The KING,
*againſt*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Harry, | FURMAN's, | negroes or ſlaves. |
| Quamino, | PEMBERTON's, | |
| Wan, Indian, | LOWE's, | |
| London, | KELLY's, | |
| Worceſter, | VARIAN's, | |

The priſoners were arraigned upon an indictment for the conſpiracy; whereto *Harry*, *Quamino*, and *Worceſter*, pleaded *not guilty*; and *Wan* and *London guilty*.

Court adjourned to tueſday the 23d inſtant ten o'clock in the morning.

On-

*Confeſſion of* Wan, *Indian man of the* Love, *before the Grand Jury.*

*He ſaid,*

1. 'THAT about twelve months ago he met at the waterſide, *John*, a free Indian late of *Cornelius Coſine*, 'who carried him to *Hughſon's*, where drank a mug of 'beer, and paid for it; when *John* went away; but 'Hughſon ſtopped him (*Wan*) and told him *a law was made 'to ſell no liquor to ſlaves, bid him not tell*; *Wan* ſaid he 'would not; *then* Hughſon *bid him ſwear on a book* he held 'to him, *to do what he ſhould tell him*; and *Wan* ſaid, he 'would; and he put his hand on the book, and ſwore af-'ter what *Hughſon* ſaid, *To burn his maſter's houſe, and to 'kill his maſter and miſtreſs, and to aſſiſt to take the town.*

2. 'That *Ticklepitcher* and *Baſtian* were there when he 'ſwore; and being aſked, if any one elſe? He ſaid, none.

3. 'That *John* the Indian met him afterwards, and ſee-'ing him melancholy, aſked him what was the matter? He '(*Wan*) told him what he had done, on which *John* ſaid, '*it was good for him.*

4. 'That *Guſſoe* (GOMEZ's) and *Francis* (BOSCH's) told 'him, they were to ſet their maſters houſes on fire; and 'one day aſked him if he was ready; and he told them yes.

5. 'That being aſked what they were to do when they 'took the town? He anſwered, *they were to kill the white 'people, the men, and take their wives to themſelves.*

*Evidence affecting this ſlave.*

*Tickle's* examination, § 4, 12*th June.*

*Confeſſion of* Primus, Debroſſe's *negro, before the Grand Jury.*

*He ſaid,*

1. 'THAT a week before Chriſtmas he met *Ticklepitcher* and *Kelly's London*, on a Sunday at his 'maſter's ſtill-houſe, and gave them ſome punch; and 'then they took a walk, and they carried him to a houſe 'on the North-river, and called the man * for liquor, and 'they drank; *and the man of the houſe took them down below, 'and the man told him* (Primus) *that he muſt help them to 'riſe to kill the white people; and muſt ſteal his maſter's 'gun, and muſt fight, and kill his maſter and miſtreſs firſt*: 'He ſaid he would help them, but cared not to kill his 'maſter and miſtreſs, as they were kind to him; and *the 'man put his hand on a paper, which he told him was a liſt of*

* Hughſon.

*the*

'*the manner of thoſe who were to riſe; and ſware him to be*
'*to come and help them, or the devil fetch him.*

2. 'That he ſoon after fell ſick, and was ſick all the
'winter.

3. 'That when the fire was at *Van Zant's*, his maſter
'ſent him out for ſome things; and he went to the fire and
'helped as well as he was able, for he was weak; and then
'went home with his maſter.

4. 'That about two or three days after, he went out and
'met *Cæſar* (Peck's) who told him that he (*Cæſar*) and
'*Cuffee* (Gomez's) had ſet *Van Zant's* ſtorehouſe on fire.

5. 'Being aſked, if he was at any other time at the
'white man's houſe? He ſaid, no.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Tickle's* examination, | N°. II. § 1. | 12*th June.* |
| *Cæſar*, Pintard's, examination, | § 4. | 22*d June.* |
| *London*, Kelly's, examination, | | 2*d July.* |

## *SATURDAY*, 20*th* JUNE.

Yeſterday evening Mr. *Marſchalk* ſent to one of the judges, to inform him, that his negroes *York* and *London*, convicted that day, had ſignified that they would make a confeſſion; and withal, that he was deſirous of being by when they were examined; and accordingly the following confeſſions were taken in his preſence this morning.

*Confeſſion of* York, *negro of* Marſchalk's.

'1. *He acknowledged*, 'That what the witneſſes ſaid no the trial yeſterday was true.

2. 'That he went one ſunday morning early *above two*
'*years ago*, to *Hughſon's* houſe, with Kip's *Samuel*, who
'has been dead two years, and bought a quart of rum,
'and went with it to Mr. *Bayard's*.

3. 'That Comfort's *Jack*, about Chriſtmas laſt, inform-
'ed him firſt of the plot: *Jack* met him by his gate,
'and told him of it, and appointed him to meet him at
'*Hughſon's*; that he went to *Hughſon's*: was there *the ſun-*
'*day the feaſt was*, as mentioned by the witneſſes in court.

4. 'Has been twice at *Hughſon's* and once at *Comfort's*.

5. 'Was to be a captain, and was ſworn; that many
'negroes were preſent, and *all ſworn and conſented.*

6. 'Agreed to the circumſtances told of the plot in gene-
'ral: Spaniſh negroes were there: Furman's *Harry*, Moore's
'*Cato*; *all the priſoners who were tried with him were there:*

' Ben Moore's *Tom* and *Mink* there, Gabriel Crooke's ' *Prince* there; *Ben* and *Quack* there.

7. ' *Hughſon, his wife and daughter, ſwore firſt*; then ' thoſe who were at the upper end of the table, near *Hugh-* ' *ſon*, ſwore upon the book, and the others at a diſtance ' without book, *by thunder*, &c.

8. ' He agreed to ſet his maſter's houſe on fire; but ſaid ' he would not do it till he ſaw ſomebody elſe begin, and ' then he would; he was to kill his miſtreſs: warn to *Hugh-* ' *ſon*'s juſt after church out.

9. ' That he believed that meeting was about ſix weeks ' before the fort burnt.

10. ' *London* [his fellow-ſlave] was to be a private man ' under him.

11. ' *Comfort*'s meeting was two weeks after this; at ' *Comfort*'s he and Kipp's *Harry* were in the ſhop; above ' twenty there; Gabriel Crooke's *Prince* there; *London* ' there; *Ben* (Marſhall's) there; Hermanus's *Quaſh*; *Jack* ' went backwards and forwards from the ſhop to the kitch- ' en; Furman's *Harry* there.

12. ' *Hughſon* propoſed to them to get as many other ne- ' roes in as they could.

13. Mr. Moore's *Cato*, Shurmur's *Cato*, at *Comfort*'s; ' he did not go into the kitchen; but heard that a great ma- ' ny were there.

14. ' *Hughſon* told them at his houſe, *that the* Spaniards ' *knew better than* York *negroes how to fight: and they were* ' *all to ſtand by one another and aſſiſt the* French *and* Spani- ' ards; *they were to wait for them ſome time; if they did not* ' *come, they were to do all themſelves.*

15. ' Every one in the ſhop [at *Comfort*'s] had knives, ' and they were ſharpening of them; and they were to cut ' white men's heads off.'

*Confeſſion of* London, *negro of* Marſchalk's.

*He ſaid,*

1. ' THAT what was ſaid againſt him at the trial ' yeſterday, was true.

2. ' Capt. *Marſhall*'s *Ben* came to him and told him, ' that his maſter's negro *York*, wanted him *at the white* ' *man's houſe* * by the water-ſide; he went there; this was ' of *the Sunday that they eat*; Moore's *Cato*, Pintard's *Ca-*

* Hughſon's.

' *ſar*,

'ſary, &c. *the Spaniſh* negroes there, the *whole* [illegible]
'groes; when they had done eating, *who would* [illegible]
'*the book to ſwear*; the table was not big enough [illegible]
'all to ſet down at, ſo that ſome forced to ſtand; [illegible]
'*wiards* ſat altogether next to *Hughſon*; when they [illegible]
'eating, *Hughſon* ſaid, the country was not good, [illegible]
'ny gentlemen here, and made negroes work hard; [illegible]
'*ſet fire to their maſters houſes, and when they* [illegible]
'*they muſt get their guns, ſwords, and kabbers*; [illegible]
'*three weeks the* Spaniards *and* French *would be* [illegible]

3. 'That when the buſineſs was done, he would [illegible]
'them in a ſhip, and carry them into their own country.

4. 'Thoſe that ſtood next to *Hughſon* put their [illegible]
'on a book, ſwore and kiſſed it; thoſe who were [illegible]
'other end of the room did not ſwear *on the book*, but
'*ſwore without*.

5. 'That *Hughſon* ſaid, he muſt ſet his maſter's [illegible]
'on fire, and he conſented, and agreed to do it; and *York*
'told him he muſt kill his maſter, to which he ſaid, yes.
'*York* told him, that his maſter love him *(London)* better
'than him *(York)*.

6. 'That one or two weeks after he was at *Comfort's*, *York*, a little young negro belonging to a ſhoemaker in
'Pearl-ſtreet, near oppoſite to Mr. *Breaſtead's*, and *Cæſar's*
'*Prince* were there: that *Ben came to his* (London's) *bed*
'*one morning between four and five, and took a coal of fire*
'*out of the bakehouſe, and ſaid, he would go and ſet the*
'*maſter's ſtable on fire, and bid him* (London) *fire his maſter's houſe; this a week after* Philipſe's *ſtorehouſe ſet on*
'*fire*.

7. '*York* was in the ſhop, and he in the kitchin at *Comfort's*: *Jack* brought the knives: but he ſaid, he had a
'knife, and could get a ſword: *Jack looked like a gentleman*. *Jack* told him he bought the knives of a *Spaniſh* negro.

8. 'The general talk at *Comfort's* was to the ſame effect
'as that at *Hughſon's*, *viz. To burn the houſes, and kill the*
'*people*; they ſaid, they *agreed*, and *ſwore* to do this, *as*
'*long as the white man ſtand by them*.

9. 'Did not ſee *Sandy*; ſaw five or ſix *Spaniſh* negroes
'there.'

MON-

1. 'THAT [illegible] to Mr. [illegible]
'Hughson's to drink, found [illegible] there,
'found called him before [illegible] he would join with
'them about what they designed to do: he asked them what
'that was? He answered, when you swear, I will tell you
'what it is; then he told you them [illegible] they intended
'to [illegible] that night, when all the people, he told
'him he would stand to it: then Hughson fetched the book,
'and made him put his hand on it, and said he might know
'him, and that [illegible] of the plot.

2. 'That before he put his hand on the book, Hughson
'told him, there were a great many engaged concerned in this
'plot, and that they intended to burn the fort high, then Ge-
'ratdus Comfort's house, and so round the town, and to kill
'the people.

3. 'That *Hughson* asked him if he could get guns, swords
'or pistols from his master, and he said him no, his ma-
'ster locked up all these things: *Hughson* then said, if he
'could not get any, *that he would find him some.*

4. 'That *Curacoa Dick* told him, that the *Spaniards*
'could fight better than the *Tarr* negroes.

5. That *Quash*, Rutgers's, *Tickle*,
*Cæsar*, Pintard's, *Prince*, Auboyneau's,
*Cato*, *Col.* Moore's, *Cuffee*, Phillipse's,
*Cato*, Sharmar's, *Cæsar*, Nancy's,
*Sam*, Lowe's, *Will*, Ward's,
*Albany*, *Will*, *Capt.* Lushe's,
'all spoke to him about the plot, and *Tom*, B. Moore's,
'and *Jack*, Breasted's; *Pintard*, English's; all told him
'they were concerned in it: and *Brash*, say's, upon his
'(*Pompey's*) asking him whether he had heard what the
'negroes were about; answered, that Pintard's *Cæsar* told
'him of it.

6. 'That he, *Pompey*, asked Soumain's *Tom*, whether he
'would be concerned, told him (*Tom*) that he had been

'down at *Hughson*'s with *Sam*, Courtlandt's negro, and the 'Hughsons *and the negroes were going to burn the town and* 'the fort, *and to kill the white people*; and that he 'was sworn in the plot; and *Tom* consented that he 'should be concerned; but he never talked to *Tom* any more 'about it, and knows not whether he was ever sworn or 'spoke to any body else about it; this discourse between *Tom* 'and him, was a fortnight before Christmas.

7. 'That Mrs Stilwell's *Pero* spoke to him about it last 'winter; Hermanus Rutgers's *Jacob* likewise.

8. '*Othello*, chief justice's negro, spoke to him about it 'last winter, and said he was concerned.

9. 'That he spoke to *Pompey* (Mr. Samuel Bayard's) ne-'gro, and told him he was concerned in the plot; and was 'sworn at *Hughson*'s; and *Pompey* (Bayard's) told him, that 'he would be concerned.

10. 'He spoke likewise to Mrs. Gilbert's *Pompey* about 'it, and he agreed he would be concerned; likewise to Mr. 'Cruger's *Deptford*; and he said, he would be concerned; 'and *Hanover*, Mr. Henry Cruger's, and he agreed.

11. 'Chief Justice's *Othello* said he would be a captain.

12. 'That he likewise spoke to *Cato*, the new Barrack 'negro, at the other end of the town, and he agreed to be 'concerned; but don't know whether any of those went to 'Hughson's, and were sworn.

'*Sam*, col. Courtlandt's negro, was immediately appre-'hended, and confronted with *Pompey*, but he denied all and 'was committed.

*Confession of* Cæsar *(alderman* Pintard's) *negro,*

*Before one of the Judges.*

*He said,*

1. 'THAT last fall, soon after the *Caba men* were 'gone, Vaarck's *Cæsar* carried him down to 'Hughson's; and there asked him in the presence of *Hugh-'son*, *Quash* (Rutger's) *Ben* (Marshall's) *Harry* (Kipp's) 'Tickle and *Albany*, "whether he would join along with "them to fight the white people: and *Hughson* asked him "whether he would burn his master's house?" To which 'he answered, he would help to fight the white people, but 'would not burn his master's house.' *Hughson* replied, "E-"very negro had engaged to burn his master's house, as "well as kill the white people," and why could he not do

'so

'so as well as they,' but he told *Hughson*, 'he would not set 'any man's house on fire, or that he would only fight and 'kill the white people.'

2. 'That then *Hughson* brought a book like a common 'prayer book, and "swore him that he should not speak of "what they had agreed upon to any one, but those concern-"ed with them; and that he was to do what he had en-"gaged himself to, upon pain of damnation forever:" '*Hughson* all the time holding the book in his hand, and 'made him kiss it.

3. 'That *Ben* (Marshall's) *Cæsar* (Vaarck's) and *Hugh-*'*son*, were to find guns and swords.

4. 'That *Hughson*, after his swearing, put his name 'down on a piece of paper, and told him, he must get as 'many more negroes as he could; but said, he never spoke 'to any but

*Tony*, Brazier's. *Cato*, Provoost's, } both.
*York*, (Shoemaker's in Pearl-street) *Cato*, Cowley's. } hanged.
*Prince*, (Gabriel Crooke's.) *Bill*, (Vaarck's) who told him he had been sworn
*Bridgewater*, (Van Horne's.) already.
*Bill*, Teneyck's, whom he carried to *Hughson's*, and saw him sworn.
*London*, Capt. Roger French's: whom he also carried to *Hughson's*, and saw him sworn.
*Fortune*, Vanderspiegle's, hanged. *Jack*, Breasted's.
*London*, Wyncoop's Indian. *Primus*, De Brosse's.
*Curacoa Dick*. *Quack*, Roosevelt's.
*Cæsar*, Peck's. Another negro of *Peck's*.
*Mars*, Benson's.

5. 'That those beforenamed, which he did not carry 'to *Hughson's* to be sworn, he carried to *Comfort's*, on the 'sunday the general meeting of the negroes there, about 'a fortnight or three weeks before the fort was burnt, and 'there they all swore to fire the town, some to burn their 'own master's houses, and all to kill the white people; they 'all swore before *Jack*, Comfort's; and he made report to '*Hughson*, who put their names down in a list.

6. 'That he knew Mr. Moore's *Cato* was concerned in 'the plot about a week before the supper at *Hughson's*; *Cato* 'was at the entertainment; he was to have been there him-'self, but was stopped by the watch as he was going.

7. 'That he carried *Jack*, Comfort's, to *Hughson* to be 'sworn.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Peggy's* examination, } No. I.
*Sawney's* examination } No. III.
*Jack*, (Sleydall's) examination,
*Peggy* (De Lancey's) examination,

*Confession of* Cato, *col.* MOORE's *negro.*

*Before one of the judges.*

*He said,*

1. 'THAT the first that spoke to him about the conspiracy, was *Hermanus Rutgers's Quash*, and *Ben*, by capt. *Marshall's* stable, about a fortnight after Christmas, of a sunday morning; they asked him to go down to *Comfort's* with them after church out in the evening, for that there was to be company there.

2. 'That they told him the negroes were going to rise against the white people; and asked him whether he would join with them; he told them at first, he was not willing, he had no occasion for it; for he lived well; *Quash* made answer, that he himself lived as well or better than any, and *Ben* said, so did he; but it was a hard case upon the poor negroes, that they could not so much as take a walk after church out, but the constables took them up; therefore in order to be free, they must set the houses on fire, and kill the white people; and *Ben* asked him to set his master's house on fire. He told him then he was not willing to do that; they asked him to come down to *Comfort's* after church in the evening; which he did; *there were* [illegible] *there*, and he drank a dram; but he did not see *Jack* this first time: the negroes he then saw at *Comfort's* were,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ben*, | | *York*, | Crooke's. |
| *Quash*, | | *Sam*, | Lowe's. |
| *Robin*, | Chambers's. | *Cuffee*, | Widow Fortune's. |
| *Cæsar*, | Peck's. | *Bridgewater*, | Van Horne's. |
| *Cook*, | | *Scipio*, | Bound's. |
| *York*, *London*, | Marschalk's. | *Cato*, *Fortune*, | Cowley's. Vanderspiegle's. |
| *Cato*, | Shurmur's. | *Cato*, | Provoost's hanged |
| *Prince*, | Crooke's. | *Harry*, | Kipp's. |
| *York*, | Shoemaker's. | | |

'The same sort of talk passed there as abovementioned; 'but they did not all very well agree at that time.

3. 'That

" That about a fortnight afterwards, on a sunday, he went with Pintard's *Cæsar*, in order to meet with *Albany*, *Ficke*, *Cuyler*, *Dingwall*, *Roth*'s *Frank*, and they went down to *Hughson*'s one after another, when they came there, they went into a room where were *Hughson*, *his wife, and daughter*, but the latter did not stay in the room; *Hughson* brought them drink, which they paid for; and he " talked to them about the plot for burning the houses " of the town, and killing the white people; and told them " there were several companies of negroes to be made up, " and asked if they would be concerned;" and some agreed at that time; but he and Pintard's *Cæsar* did not, they came out of the house together after staying about half an hour.

4. ' That the sunday after this, he went to *Hughson*'s again with *Albany*, and *Hughson* carried *Albany* and him up stairs, and swore them upon a bible, after having told them that there were a great many concerned in this plot; " that they had agreed to rise against the town, to murder " the people; some to murder their master's and mistresses, " and to burn their houses: and proposed to him to do the " same, and destroy the whole family; which he was unwilling to agree to at first, but at last consented; and then " he was sworn and kissed the book;" and *Albany* consented to kill his mistress and the rest of the family, and to burn her house; and was sworn in the same manner: that the purport of the oath was, that " they were to keep all " secret, and to perform what they severally had engaged " to do; and if they failed therein they were to be damned " forever."

5. ' That on another sunday evening about a fortnight or three weeks after that, he went to supper at *Hughson*'s according to his invitation.

6. ' That the last time he met Marschalk's *York* by Mr. *De Lancey*'s, as he was going; when he came there there were a great number of negroes, he believes forty or fifty, among which were

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Cuffee*, | Fortune's. | *Will*, | Ward's. |
| *Sam*, | Lowe's. | *Prince*, | G. Crooke's. |
| *Scipio*, | Bound's. | *Cæsar*, | Kortrecht's. |
| *York*, | Cha. Crooke's. | *Guy*, | Horsefield's. |
| *Bridgewater*, | Van Horne's. | | |

' That he did not sit down at the table where *Hughson*, his *wife* and *daughter* sat, but at a side table with several o-

others; after supper *Hughson* talked to them about the plot; "they were all to be true to one another; to keep [illegible] "and to perform what they had engaged to do." [illegible] had a book, and swore several upon it, and [illegible] kiss it; but those that were at a distance, swore [illegible] book.

7. 'That the sunday fortnight after that, he went to 'Comfort's, where were, he believes, about forty negroes, 'where they talked of the plot to the same purpose, and 'swore: there were

*Quash*, *London*, Cap. French's.
*Ben*, *Tony*, Brasier's.
*Cuffee*, Fortune's. *Guy*, Hoffield's.
*London*, Wyncoop's Indian. *Prince*, Duane's.

8. 'That Vaarck's *Cæsar* (hanged) told him, David 'Provoost's *Low* was concerned in the plot: and that he 'was at *Hughson's* at that supper on the sunday; but don't 'remember he saw him there.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Peggy's* examination, | N° I. | | 9th May. |
| *Sawney's* examination, | I. | § 12. | 22d May. |
| *Sarah*, (Burk's) examination, | III. | § 8. | 1st June. |
| *Cæsar* (Pintard's) examination, | II. | § 5. | 1st June. |
| *York* (Marschalk's) confession, | | § 6. | 22d June. |
| *Pompey* (De Lancey's) confession, | | § 6. | 20th June. |
| *Jacob* (Rutgers's) confession, | | § 5. | 22d June. |
| *Dundee's* confession, | | | 24th June. |
| | | § 9. | 24th June. |

*Confessions of several negroes, before one of the Judges.*

Harry, *(Furman's) said,*

'BEN (Alderman Bayard's) that goes to sea, was con- cerned in the plot; that *Jack* was shaving *Harry* at 'Comfort's, and said, he could set his master's bakehouse on 'fire, and might be at work in it, and his master would 'not know he did it; he say, no; his master do him good. 'That *Jack* said he would cut his throat if he did not agree 'to it; then *Harry* said if he would set his master's house on 'fire first, then he would set his.

Evi-

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Jack* (Comfort's) confeſſion | § 31, 32. | 8*th June.* |
| *Fortune* (Latham's) confeſſion | | 15*th June.* |
| *York* (Marſchalk's) confeſſion | § 6. | 20*th June.* |

Quamino, *Pemberton's, ſaid,*

'He was ſworn at *Hughſon's* by him; he clapped his hand 'upon a book; there were preſent

*Tom*, Rowe's, *Ticklepitcher*, *Albany*. *Cæſar*, Vaarck's.

'*John*, Van Dam's, was in the houſe when he came, but 'immediately went away.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Tickle's* confeſſion, | § 2. | 12*th June.* |
| *Tom*, Rowe's, confeſſion, | | 2*d July.* |

Worceſter, *Varick's, ſaid,*

'That Leffert's *Pompey* firſt ſpoke to him to be concern-'ed in the plot about Chriſtmas laſt; that he was at the ſup-'per at *Hughſon's*, and was then ſworn; Hughſon, his 'wife and daughter ſwore firſt, and then the negroes; and 'he conſented that he would join with them in burning 'houſes and killing the people; *Hughſon* told him, "after "the negroes had killed the white men, they were to marry "the gentlewomen."

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Quack*, Rooſevelt's, confeſſion at the ſtake, | § 4. | 30*th May.* |
| *Tickle's* confeſſion, | § 4. | 12*th June.* |

Upon the ſeveral confeſſions taken this day, the following negroes were apprehended and committed to jail.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Sam*, | Lowe's, | *London*, | Wyncoop's, |
| *Tony*, | Braſier's, | *York*, | Crooke's, |
| *Bridgwater*, | Van Horn's, | *Cuffee*, | Widow Fortune's, |
| *London*, | French's, | *Scipio*, | Bound's. |
| *Low*, | Provoſt's, | | |

Supreme Court.

TUESDAY, 24 JUNE.

PRESENT,

*The four Justices.*

The KING,

*against*

Harry, Furman's,
Quamino, Pemberton's,
Worcester, Varian's,
} Negroes.

THE prisoners desired leave of the court to withdraw their plea of *not guilty*, and to plead *guilty*; leave was given accordingly; and they pleaded *guilty*, and submitted to the mercy of the court.

Court adjourned to ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

## *DEPOSITION.*

THIS day *Stephen Evon*, of *Westchester* county, made oath before one of the judges, 'that being at Jamaica on *Long-Island*, about a year ago, a negro man called *Will*, belonging to *Johannes Hardenbergh*, *Robin* (Mr. Willet's) and *Jack* (Dorland's) negroes were at a house where he (the deponent) was; and that he heard *Will* say to *Robin*, *what think you of* Corlaer's Hook * *for the plot?* *D—n it*, replied Robin, *I'll have nothing to say to it; if they burn their backsides, they must sit down on the blisters*; but said further, *let them go on and prosper.*

'That this deponent urged very hard to know what they meant; one of them (he thought it was *Robin*) said, *it was a plot; and that if it went on, he* (the deponent) *should hear more of it, and could do no less than hear of it; but would then say no more about it for fear of bringing himself in.*

*Confession of* Starling, *Mr.* S. Lawrence's *negro*,
*Before one of the Judges.*

*He said,*

1. 'THAT he was one concerned in the plot for *burning and destroying this city, and murdering the inhabitants*; and that Hughson *swore him upon a book,*

* A point of land at the east end of the city of New-York, almost opposite Long-Island ferry.

'*made*

'made him put his hand upon a book & swear to find the purport
'of the oath true, that he should tell no body what passed
'it; and that he was to do whatever he proposed to do; that is to
'say, to fire his master's house, and kill his master and
'family, &c. Hughson was present in the room when sworn.

2. That *Albany* and *Varick* carried him thither, and there
'opened the plot to him; *Hughson* put a flask of rum upon
'the table, and after drinking himself, offered him, if he
'would not help to kill the whole people, would have the truth?
'He answered, yes; then *Hughson* swore him, and put his
'name on a paper.

3. That *Abrahamse's Scipio* came down there the same
'time, and he saw him sworn; and that these Whitsuntide
'was twelve months.

4. That *Albany* told him, that they were to wait till the
'winter almost over; and then when the wind blew hard,
'they were to begin to set fire, and burn the fort.

5. 'That when the governor had forbid *Quack* coming
'to the fort last summer, Quack declared, that he would
'burn the fort; *Quack* and *Comfort's Jack* came into
'*Hughson's* the same day, after he (*Sterling*) was sworn,
'and there he heard him say this before *Albany*, *Tickle*, the
'said *Jack* (Comfort's) and *Hughson*.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Tickle's* examination and confession. 12*th June.*

The following, supposed to be calculated for a confession, was found amongst the papers, indorsed *June*, without the particular day; and it is thought to have been after the proclamation of the 19th; because as we understood, *Quack* till that time stoutly denied that he knew any thing at all of a conspiracy; therefore it is here plated.

*The confession of* Quack, WALTER's *negro*,
*By an unknown hand.*

NUMB. I.

'THAT about fourteen days before *Quack*, Roosevelt's, came to prison, he and Hermanus Rutgers's *Quash* were in the wood yard, and called a negro man (of a sunday morning) in, belonging to Mr. *Leffert*, named *Pompey*; they asked him, "if he would do as they 'would do?" He answered, what's that? "If you'll do 'as we will, we'll tell you."——He would.

'*Quash* proposed, if he (*Pompey*) would set his master's house on fire, that he (*Quash*) would set his master's house

'any fire; and *Quack* was to set his master Mr. [illegible]
'house on fire, likewise Mr. *Vanderbeek*'s house.
'said, "they might do as they would pull them
'would not tell;" and likewise said, "he would
'master's house on fire." They *Quack* and
'mised him (*Pompey*) if he would do it he had
'is, to set fire to his master's house, they would
'to escape, and be the means of making him free.

By this confession, if it may be so called, *Quack*
clear of charging himself with any privity to the
spiracy; he intimates no more by it, than that
this discourse between the three negroes he there
importing a conspiracy between them to set those
houses on fire: *Quack* does not say he was in
them, nor where he was. If this was his own
*Quack* was no fool; if it was provided for him, he
very wise that furnished him with it. But
for coming off as cheap as he could.

This day the following negroes were apprehended
committed upon the aforegoing confessions and
ons, *viz.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Pompey*, | Bayard's, | *Deptford*, | Gouger's, |
| *Pompey*, | Gilbert's, | *Cato*, | Benson's, |
| *Tom*, | Soumain's, | *Jacob*, | Rutgers's, |

Supreme Court.

*WEDNESDAY*, 24th JUNE. *A. M.*

PRESENT,

*The second and third Justices.*

Court opened and adjourned till four o'clock in the afternoon.

*P. M.*

PRESENT, *As before.*

Court opened and adjourned to ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

*Confession of* Jacob (H. RUTGERS's) *negro*,
*Before one of the Judges.*

*He said*,

'THAT some time before Christmas last he was car-
'ried to *Hughson*'s by Roosevelt's *Quack*, where
'he gave him a dram, and told him that they were about a
'plot,

'plot, they were going to kill the white people and burn the 'city, and asked him if he would be concerned? That he 'was frightened at first a little, but found he was not afraid; 'there was no body should hurt him; and by that time they 'had drank out their quart of rum, he agreed to join with 'them; and he swore to Quack, that he would not tell any 'body of it; but that he would do as he said. He did 'not see *Hughson* at the house, only a young woman in the 'house, which he took to be his daughter; but he did not go 'into the house. Has talked to Mr. *Moore*'s *Cato* about the 'plot, but no body more; and knows of no other persons 'concerned.'

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Pomfret* (De Lancey's) confession, § 7. 22d June.
*Confession of Dundee* (Todd's) *negro, taken by a private hand.*

NUMB. 1.

*He said,*

1. 'THAT for three summers past, he had fetched 'water at *Comfort*'s; That in the winter, by his 'master's orders, he fetched it from the fire; That some 'time before the officers arrived for the *Cuba* expedition, 'he was at *Comfort*'s for water, in the afternoon; that 'Jack asked him to come into the house to play papa; 'Jack, Cook, Jenny (Comfort's negroes) and he (*Dundee*) 'played about two half hours; that *Jack* won about two 'shillings in pence of him; that after *Jack* had won the 'money, he asked him to go and drink; and carried him 'to *Hughson*'s; when they came there, *Jack* called for a 'pint of rum, which *Hughson*'s wife brought, and *Jack* 'made punch; that he (*Dundee*) got almost drunk, and *Jack* 'helped him up with the water, and that he heard nothing 'that time about the plot.

2. 'The second time, being the next afternoon, he was at 'Hughson's, in company with *Jack* and *Cook* (Comfort's ne-'groes) that he called for half a pint of rum; that *Hughson* 'brought it; that Mrs. *Hughson* came in and asked *Jack*, 'whose boy that was? *Jack* told her Mr. *Todd*'s, and said, 'never fear him, he is a good boy; *Hughson* then asked 'him (*Dundee*) his name; he told him *Dundee*; *Hughson* said, 'stay a little while till I fetch a book; that *Hughson* was gone 'about two minutes before he brought the book; that he did 'not tell him it was a bible; *Hughson* asked him his name 'a second time; to which he answered as before; that 'Hughson and *Jack* told him, he must lay his hand on the

'book;

'possible, he asked them for what? They told him, they
'must (swear to help them set fire to houses, and that
'would tell no body of it;" that he swore
'secresy, and the d——l d——n him if he did:
'then he asked, what he was to do? they told him,
'must set his master's house on fire; that the fort was to
'be burnt first, and that *Jack* was to do it; that he was to
'help burn the rest of the houses and destroy the people;
'so all which he consented; that *Jack* was to be
'cain, and he (*Dundee*) lower captain; that he was to cut
'his mistress's throat in the night, because she scolded him
'when he staid of an errand, or if he did not mind his
'business.

3. 'That Comfort's *Jack* was to kill Mr. *Yeo*, because
'he once followed *Dundee* to *Comfort's* house, when he
'went for tea-water; and made a noise at him for staying.

4. '*Jack* told him he must bring wine in the cans he took
'as he came there for water; he answered, he had no op-
'portunity, or else he would.

5. '*Jack* told him, "there were too many guns in the
'fort, so they were to burn that first; that they were to burn
'the fort on *St. Patrick's* day;" and *Dundee* was to fire
'his master's house the same evening after the fort was de-
'stroyed; but was afraid lest he should be catched and
'hanged.

6. "That when the whole city was on fire, they were
"all to meet together, and destroy the people as fast as they
"came out;" they were to have pen-knives to cut their
'throats, which *Jack* was to provide for them; that he
'offered him a knife, but he said he would buy one.

7. 'That the third time he was there, *Patrick* (Mr. *En-*
'*glish's* negro) was with him; *Patrick* said to *Cook*, "you
"have not forgot what I told you of;" no, says *Cook*, I hope
'not yet. *Dundee* overheard their discourse.

8. 'That *Jack* was at work in the shop, but his young
'master was there, and so they could not speak together.

9. 'That the day the fort was burnt, *Patrick*, *Dundee* and
'Mr. Alderman MOORE's *Cato* were on the mount; that
'*Dundee* said, he was sorry the governor's house was burnt;
'*Patrick* said he was not, but that "he wished the go-
"vernor had been burnt in the middle of it;" that *Cato*
'was not present then, but came just after, and said, "by
"and by this will be put in the news that the fort's burnt,
'and then the *Spaniards* will come and take us all.

*Confession*

*Confeſſion of* London, (*alias* Franklin's) *negro, taken before his maſter by a private hand.*

*He ſaid*

1. 'THAT when the three were tried to go to *Gallo*, he worked on board Capt. *Bayard*'s veſſel; that he was ſent aſhore for water, and that he went to *Campbell*'s, that *Jack* aſked him, if he would be one of them? the priſoner aſked him, as of what? *Jack* told him, what the negroes were going to riſe in a body to take the country, to fire the houſes and kill the people. He anſwered, he was going to ſea with his maſter, and that he could not; *Jack* told him, *if he would conſent, he would fit his name down with the reſt*; he anſwered, that if he did not go to ſea, he would help them to do what they propoſed; *Jack* aſked him to ſwear, which he did, which oath was, That he wiſhed thunder might ſtrike him down, if he did not help them, in caſe his maſter did not go out to ſea.

2. 'That the priſoner ſeached land ſomewhere near *Gallo-fort*'s this ſpring, and again ſaw *Jack*, who aſked him, if he remembered his promiſe, and would ſtand to it; he anſwered, *yes*; Jack told him, *they were to ſet fire in the Broad-way*; and that he (the priſoner) ſhould ſet his maſter's ſtorehouſe on fire in the *New-Street*; which the priſoner conſented to.

3. 'That *Jack* told him, *there was a houſe near by where they would provide arms*, and what was neceſſary; and that he would find for him what he wanted.

4. 'That when the city was on fire, the negroes were to meet at the end of the Broad-way next to the fields.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Cæſar*, Pintard's, confeſſion, § 4. 22*d* June.
*Gallo*, Moore's, confeſſion, § 7. 22*d* June.

Intimation having been given for ſome time paſt that there had of late been *Popiſh Prieſts* lurking about the town, diligent enquiry had been made for diſcovering them, but without effect; at length information was given, that one *Ury*, alias *Jury*, who had lately come into this city, and entered into partnerſhip with *Campbell*, a ſchool-maſter, pretending to teach *Greek* and *Latin*, was ſuſpected to be one, and that he kept a private conventicle; he was taken into cuſtody this day; and not giving a ſatisfactory account of himſelf, was committed to the city jail.

*Con-*

*Confession of* Jack, (J. Tiebout's) *negro, before Alderman* Bancker.

HE *declared*, that in Easter holidays, *Will* (Wendell's) *Will* desired him to drink a dram with him at Wendell's; and also desired him to make him two or three sticks of about two or three foot long, and an iron about twelve inches bored in them, which was to carry light that no body should see it, because Mr. [illegible] would not allow a candle; And afterwards he went in company with him again, and then told him, Mr. [illegible] *Horn* would not allow him to come to his wife, but he said it was long he would shew him a trick; and that the *great bore were cowards*) *for that they had no hearts* at Antigua; And that Mr. *Pintard*'s negro was a for that he had undertaken a thing which he could through with; for that he had given him the gun (that found under the market) to take care of *: When Mr. *Philipse*'s storehouse was extinguished, he said to (*Jack*) he would sooner see all the houses burnt down to the ground, before he would lend an hand to it.

Supreme Court.

*THURSDAY*, 25*th* JUNE.

PRESENT,

*The second and third Justices.*

The KING,
*against*
Jamaica, *a negro, and*
Sarah Hughson.

ORDERED, that the execution of the two criminals be respited till to-morrow seven-night.

The KING,
*against*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Emanuel, | Wendover's, | *Negroes.* |
| Patrick, | English's, | |
| Brash, | Jay's, | |
| Jack, | Breasted's, | |
| Will, *alias* Bill, | Vaarck's, | |
| Will, | Lush's, | |

* There was a gun found under the market by a soldier, not long after the fort fired, and no owner for it discovered.

The

The prisoners having been indicted for conspiring &c. to burn the whole town and city of New-York, and to kill and destroy the inhabitants thereof, were arraigned, and pleaded *not guilty*.

KING, on the part of the white people.
York, Prince, Scipio, Tony, Low, Will, } *Negroes.*

The prisoners having been arraigned on the same indictment, *York*, *Scipio* and *Will*, pleaded *Guilty*, and *Prince*, *Low* and *Tony* pleaded *not guilty*.

The court adjourned till to-morrow morning nine o' clock.

DEPOSITION of MARY BURTON, *taken before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. IV.

*Mary Burton* being duly sworn, deposed,

1. 'That the person yesterday shewn to her in prison, 'lately taken into custody on suspicion of being a *Roman Catholick Priest*, is the same person she has often seen at 'the house of *John Hughson*: That to the best of her remembrance she saw him there first, some time about 'Christmas last; and that then for a fortnight together he 'used to come there almost every night, and sometimes 'used to lie there, but was always gone in the morning 'before she the deponent got up; but she well remembers 'he used to go by different names, but whether by the 'name of *Jury* or *Urie*, or *Doyle*, she cannot now depose 'positively; but to the best of her remembrance, some 'of his names consisted only of one syllable, and believes 'she has heard him called by all the said three names.

2. 'That after the said fortnight, she believes the said 'person did not come to *Hughson's* for about a week; 'that then he used to come again frequently almost every 'night, until the time of the stealing of *Hogg's* goods: 'He used to strip himself and go to bed, as if he was to lie there 'all night; but was always gone in the morning when this 'deponent got out of bed.

3. That

3. 'That when he called to *Hughfield*, [illegible] up stairs in the company of *Hughson*, [illegible] ter, and *Peggy*, with [illegible] negroes used to [illegible] same time consulting about the plot; and that [illegible] ten heard *Hughson*, & the rest of the white people, and 'the negroes, talk in the presence of the said *Jury*, about 'setting fire to the houses, and killing the white people of 'this city;" and has often, when such conversation was 'going on, seen the said *Jury*, alias *Ury*, whispering 'to *Hughson*, *his wife*, &c. and the negroes, which she 'understood to be joining in the conspiracy with them; 'she thought it looked very like it; though she cannot say 'she ever heard him speak out; but said, she observed his 'actions and behaviour to signify his approbation and con- 'sent to what was carrying on by the company, touching 'this conspiracy; and this not one time in particular, but a 'great many.

4. 'That the conspirators before mentioned frequently 'went into a room above stairs to hold their consultations, 'and the deponent (being a servant in the house) used often 'to go into that room to carry such things as they wanted; 'and often came in upon them at such seasons, which (as 'she believes) they would rather have excused her appear- 'ance; for she has observed, that her coming in has some- 'times made *Jury* uneasy; that they used generally to call 'up *Sarah Hughson* the daughter, to bring what they want- 'ed; but when she was out of the way, the deponent used to 'go up: She believes the said *Sarah* was likewise in their se- 'crets. *Never heard her say any thing of the plot*, but has 'heard the rest talk of it often before her the said *Sarah*.

5. 'That *Hughson, his wife, daughter Sarah, and Peg- 'gy, and the said Ury*, when this deponent has come into 'the Room amongst them to bring what they wanted, 'have several times turned out all the negroes present, and 'then have *all joined in tempting this deponent to take an oath*; 'but upon her asking them for what? they would not tell 'her; but said, *she must swear first, and then they would tell her*, 'but this she absolutely denied over and over; at which re- 'fusal they were angry, and turned her out of the room; 'and *Ury* said to her, *had not you better swear, and get in, 'than go as she did*; for they *all* (the Hughsons, Peggy 'and Jury, *had when they proposed to her to swear*) offered 'her silks, and a deal of fine things, if she would comply 'with their requests; and *Peggy* said she was a great fool if 'she did not.

6. 'That

6. 'That about a fortnight or three weeks before *Hogg*'s 'goods were ſtolen, ſhe had obſerved *Campbell* (with whom 'ſhe has heard *Jury* uſed to keep ſchool) come to *Hughſon*'s 'of a ſunday, ſometimes one *Garrit Van Emborough* with 'him; and that *Campbell* uſed to go into the room below, 'with the *Hughſons*, *Peggy* and *Cæſar*, *Prince* and *Cuffee*, '(negroes) and when theſe were met, the *Hughſons* uſed to 'turn the deponent up ſtairs: But ſhe can't ſay ſhe ever 'heard them talking of the plot before *Campbell*, but ſhe 'ſtrongly ſuſpected that he knew of it, from his keeping 'company with the *Hughſons*, and the ſaid three negroes, 'whom ſhe looked upon to be the principal heads of the 'negroes in the conſpiracy.

7. 'That during the time there was ſnow upon the ground, 'all laſt winter, ſhe has often known *Hughſon* to go out of 'town a days, upon the pretence of fetching firewood from 'the commons, with his ſleigh; and that he has not return-'ed home till eight, nine, ten or eleven o'clock at night, at 'different times, and has brought negroes to town to his 'houſe; and that he has carried them back again in his 'ſleigh after midnight, one, two or three o'clock, and has 'not returned home again ſometimes till ſeven or eight o' 'clock in the morning.

8. 'That ſhe has ſeveral times ſeen Mr. *Peter de Lancey*'s 'Spaniſh negro *Antonio* at *Hughſon*'s, when he (*Hughſon*) 'has come home late out of the woods; and that ſhe has 'ſeen him many times get into *Hughſon*'s ſleigh late in the 'night; and that *Hughſon* has not returned home till ſix, 'ſeven or eight the next morning: But at that time this 'deponent did not know where the ſaid Spaniſh negro liv-'ed, whether in town or country.

9. 'That one day at *Hughſon*'s, ſome of the negroes had 'behaved rudely towards her, and being in a paſſion ſhe was 'provoked to ſwear at them, in the preſence of *Jury*, alias '*Ury*, abovementioned, and upon recollecting herſelf ſhe 'ſaid, "God forgive me:" Whereupon the ſaid *Ury* an-'ſwered her, "that was a ſmall matter; he could forgive "her a great deal more ſins than that; that was nothing."

10. 'That at another time, when the negroes had provok-'ed her, ſhe wiſhed thoſe black toads at the devil; Oh, 'ſays Jury, "let them be black, or what they will, the "devil has nothing to do with them; I can forgive them "their ſins, and you yours too."

*Confeſſion of* London, *a Spaniſh Indian* (Wynbourn's)
*Before one of the Judges.*

1. HE ſaid, 'That laſt Whitſuntide was twelve-month, 'on the monday afternoon, he went out and 'met in the ſtreet, Peter Low's *Sam*, Obadiah Hunt's *War-* 'wick, Mrs. Elliſon's *Billy*; that they aſked him to go and 'drink beer at a houſe; and *Billy* ſaid he would carry him 'to a houſe that belonged to his miſtreſs, and that he carried 'them all to *Hughſon*'s: That they called for beer and cy- 'der; that *Hughſon* himſelf brought it; that himſelf and two 'others had but three pence a-piece about them; that *Billy* 'told them he would make up the reſt: They had four 'mugs; that the priſoner was almoſt drunk; that he had 'drank rum at a houſe before he came there; that *Hugh-* 'ſon ſat down and drank with them, and talked for ſome 'time; and that he went out for a book which he brought; 'that he told them "they muſt keep ſecret that he ſold li- "quor to negroes; that they muſt not tell any thing they "ſaw or heard at his houſe; that if they would ſwear to "keep ſecret his propoſal, they ſhould always have liquor "at his houſe; that they had better ſuffer death than tell "any body:" That they all agreed to what *Hughſon* ſaid, 'and did ſwear and kiſſed the book; that *Hughſon* had a 'liſt on which he ſet their names; that *Hughſon* was to pro- 'vide guns, ſwords and knives; that he told them, "the "fort ſhould burn firſt; and that when they ſaw that, all the "negroes ſhould ſet fire to their maſters houſes; and that "as faſt as the people run out, they ſhould ſtab the firſt "they met with, and kill as many as they could.

2. 'That ſome time after the priſoner was at *Comfort*'s, '*Jack* aſked him, whether he knew not what ſome negroes 'were going to do? yes, yes, ſays the priſoner, I know 'well enough. *Jack* told him he muſt be ſure not to tell 'any body, nor make any talk about it; for, ſaid he, they 'know it as well as we. The priſoner has talked with *Sam* 'and *Warwick* about it in the ſtreet ſometimes when he met 'them. The priſoner was to burn his maſter's houſe, and 'to ſhoot or ſtab his maſter before he came out. *Hughſon* 'was to find guns, powder, balls, knives, and every thing 'they wanted: *Hughſon* told them he was to be governor.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Cæſar* (Pintard's) confeſſion, § 4. 22*d June.*
*Cato* (Col. Moore's) confeſſion, § 7. 22*d June.*
*Dick* (Ten Eyck's) confeſſion, 30*th June.*
*Warwick* (Hunt's) confeſſion, 1*ſt July.* Con-

*Confeſſion of* Braſh, *Mr.* Peter Jay's *negro, Taken before one of the Judges,*

*He ſaid,*

1. 'THAT about this time twelve months, he and his 'old maſter's negro (*Ben*) had been down at the 'north river, hawling up timber from the water-ſide, in or-'der to be carried to his maſter's garden there; and *John* 'Hughſon had been helping them a little; and when he and '*Ben* came to the garden, *Ben* told him, "that *Hughſon* "had bid him aſk him (*Braſh*) to come to his houſe and "drink.

2. 'That they went to *Hughſon's*; and when they came 'there they were both carried up ſtairs, and there *Hughſon* "told them, that about three days afterwards he was to have "a large company of negroes, and would give them a ſup-"per; that they were going to riſe againſt the town, to "burn the houſes and to kill the people; and *Hughſon* aſk-"ed them if they would be concerned with them? And, af-"ter having drank, they both conſented: Then *Hughſon* "brought a book, and told them they muſt both ſwear that "they would ſet their maſters houſes on fire, and murder "their maſters and miſtreſſes;" to which they both con-'ſented; put their hands on the book and kiſſed it: *Hughſon* 'told them they muſt not tell it to any body but thoſe that 'were concerned, who were to be there at night; that they 'were all to begin together; and *Hughſon* ſaid he would tell '*Ben*, and *Ben* was to tell him; but he told *Hughſon* he 'could not come to ſupper; nor did he go.

3. 'That a day or two after this, he and Mr. Murray's '*Jack* went for tea-water to *Comfort's*, and he (*Braſh*) car-'ried *Jack* to *Hughſon's*, and *Hughſon* carried *Jack* up 'ſtairs, and ſwore him of this plot, who laid his hand upon 'the book and kiſſed it; and "*Jack* agreed to burn his ma-"ſter's ſtable, his houſe, and to murder his maſter and "miſtreſs."

4. 'That he was at the great meeting at *Comfort's* on the 'ſunday about three weeks before the fort burnt, and was 'in the ſhop, where he ſaw Marſchalk's two negroes '*London* and *York*, and many others; and *Toby* belonging 'to *Breaſted* the Cooper, next door to *Kortretch's*.

5. 'That *Hughſon* told him, if he could get any negroes 'to come in, he ſhould bring them down to him; and that 'beſides what before named, that he carried thither *Fortune* 'belonging to Mr. David Clarkſon, *Jack** young negro of

* Miſtake for Tom.

'capt. R. Livingston, *Cajoe* belonging to Mordecai Gomez, 'and *Tom* belonging to Hyer the Cooper in Stone street, and 'he saw them sworn.

6. 'That when *Ben* and he (*Brash*) were sworn at '*Hughson*'s, *Hughson* gave *Ben* a pistol to be carried to the 'gunsmith's to be mended, and told him, if any should ask 'whose it was, he should tell them it was his master's.

7. 'That *Hughson* told him and *Ben*, that they should get 'what guns, swords and pistols they could from their master's, 'and bring them to his house; but if they could not get a-'ny, that he could furnish them with them himself.

8. 'Confesses that he had a knife from Comfort's *Cook*; but 'he took it upon account of *Ben*, instead of penies due from '*Cook* to him, which *Ben* desired him to ask for.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Peggy*'s examination, | No I | 9th May. |
| *Sandy*'s examination, | III. § 8. | 1st June. |
| *Sarah* (Burk's) examination, | III. | 5th June. |
| *Jack* (Comfort's) examination, | § 31. | 8th June. |
| *Pompey* (De Lancey's) examination, | § 5. | 22d June. |

This day the following negroes were apprehended and committed as confederates in the conspiracy, *viz.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Billy*, | Ellison's, | *Toby*, | Breasted's, |
| *Fortune*, | Mr. Clarkson's, | *Warwick*, | Hunt's, |
| *Jack*, | Mr. Murray's, | *Windsor*, | Meyers, Cohen's. |
| *Scipio*, | Abrahamse's, | | |

## Supreme Court.

*FRIDAY*, 26th JUNE, *A. M.*

PRESENT,

*The second and third Justices.*

The KING,

*against*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Emanuel, | WENDOVER'S | *Negroes.* |
| Patrick, | ENGLISH'S | |
| Brash, | JAY'S | |
| Jack, | BREASTED'S | |
| Will, *alias* Bill, | VAARCK'S | |
| Low, | PROVOOST'S | |
| Will, | LUSH'S | |
| Prince, | DUANE'S | |
| Tony, | LATHAM'S | |

THE ſeven firſt of the above negroes deſired leave of the court to withdraw their plea of *not guilty*, and to plead *guilty*; which being granted, they pleaded *guilty*, and ſubmitted to the mercy of the court.

The court then proceeded to the trial of *Prince* and *Tony*, upon the indictment for the conſpiracy.

JURY called, and the following jurors ſworn, *viz.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Iſaac Van Dam*, | *Peter Freſneau*, |
| *Cornelius Clopper*, | *Patroclus Parmyter*, |
| *Joſiah Milliken*, | *Daniel Dunſcomb*, |
| *Humphry Jones*, | *John Hunt*, |
| *James Tucker*, | *John Robins*, |
| *Edward Man*, | *John Van Gelder*. |

Mr. MURRAY, Mr. CHAMBERS, } Of council for the KING.

Mr. *Chambers* opened the indictment, and proceeded to examine the witneſſes.

*Mary Burton* called and ſworn: She gave an account of the great meetings of the negroes at *Hughſon*'s, and the conſpiracy carrying on there, as upon former trials: That arms were to be provided and kept by *Hughſon*; that the fort was to be firſt burnt, and then the Fly and the whole town, and the people were to be murdered; and that this was the common talk betwixt the *Hughſons* and the negroes at ſuch meetings; and they were to begin to ſet fire about the time that *Hogg*'s goods were ſtolen: That ſhe has ſeen the priſoner *Tony* there ſeveral times at thoſe meetings; but cannot ſay ſhe particularly heard him talk about the fires; that he had been above ſtairs, and came out of *Peggy*'s window.——That ſhe had ſeen the priſoner *Prince* there ſeveral times, and had heard him and other negroes together talk about the plot; to which he conſented, and promiſed to do what he could to help them.

*Cæſar* (Alderman PINTARD's) negro, ſaid, That he was to have been at the great ſupper at *Hughſon*'s, but was prevented by the conſtables; but that he went there the next day, when *Hughſon* told him Mr. Duane's *Prince* was there at ſupper, and was ſworn, and was to burn his maſter's houſe; and that he had put him down.

*Cato* (Col. Moore's) negro, ſaid, he was at the great ſupper at *Hughſon*'s, when the priſoner *Prince* was there and was ſworn, and he was to burn his maſter's houſe and kill his maſter. That he was at the great meeting at *Comfort*'s

on a ſunday, and ſaw *Tony* there amongſt the negroes talking about the plot; and *Tony* conſented.

*Sandy* ſaid, he was at *Comfort's* at the great meeting on a ſunday, when he ſaw *Prince* the priſoner there, and he was ſworn (amongſt the reſt) of the plot: This was about a fortnight before the fort burnt.

*Tickle* ſaid, he was at the great ſupper at *Hughſon's*; that the priſoner *Prince* was there, and was ſworn of the plot amongſt many others; and that *Tony* and his fellow-ſervant *Fortune* were to kill their maſter, burn his houſe, and bring the goods to *Hughſon's*.

*Jack* (SLEYDAL's) ſaid, that he was at the great ſupper at *Hughſon's* after Chriſtmas, and ſaw the priſoner *Tony* there, and he was ſworn of the plot, and agreed to burn the houſes and kill the white people.

The priſoners aſked the witneſſes no material queſtions upon their defence, they only denied what had been teſtified againſt them.

And the evidence being ſummed up, and the jury charged, they withdrew; and ſoon returned and found the two priſoners guilty.

Court adjourned to four o'clock in the afternoon.

Supreme Court.

*FRIDAY*, 26*th* JUNE. *P. M.*

PRESENT,

*The ſecond Juſtice.*

The KING,

*againſt*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Guy, | T. HORSEFIELD's | Negroes. |
| York, | THOMPSON's | |
| Sam, | LOWE's | |
| Scipio, | BOUND's | |
| York, | C. CROOKE's | |
| Tony, | BRAZIER's | |
| London, | WYNKOOP's | |
| Cæſar, | HORSEFIELD's | |

THE priſoners having been indicted for conſpiring to burn the town, *&c.* were arraigned, and all ſeverally pleaded *guilty*, and ſubmitted themſelves to the mercy of the court.

The

The KING,
*againſt*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tom, | SOUMAIN's | Negroes. |
| Jacob, | H. RUTGERS's | |
| Pompey, | GILBERT's | |
| Deptford, | J. CRUGER's | |
| Cato, | BENSON's | |
| Pompey, | S. BAYARD's | |
| Sam, | COURTLANDT's | |

THE priſoners *Tom*, &c. having been indicted for the ſaid conſpiracy, were brought to the bar and arraigned; and *Tom*, *Jacob*, *Pompey* (Gilbert's) and *Deptford* pleaded *guilty*, and *Cato*, *Pompey* (S. Bayard's) and *Sam* pleaded *not guilty*.

Court adjourned to monday morning eight o'clock.

*Confeſſion of* Tom, (SOUMAIN's) *by a private hand.*

*He ſaid*,

1. 'THAT ſome time laſt ſummer after the *Cuba* forces were gone from *York*, he went in company 'with Mr. Rutgers's *Quaſh* and Mr. Roſevelt's *Quack* to 'Hughſon's; that it was on a ſunday morning; and that 'Quack and Quaſh called for liquor; and that *Hughſon* 'brought three half-pints of rum, and ſat down and drank 'with them; but ſaid nothing to him that time, except to 'tell him, that he muſt come there again the next ſunday.

2. 'That the next ſunday morning he went again, and 'met with the ſame company; that they again called for 'rum, which *Hughſon* brought; that he ſat down in com-'pany with them; and after they had drank their liquor, '*Hughſon* aſked the other two, whether he (*Tom*) would 'join with them? The priſoner aſked for what? *Quaſh* 'ſaid, to riſe and burn down the town, and kill the white 'people; that *Quack* ſaid, I myſelf intend to have the 'fort down before long: That they put a book upon his 'breaſt and forced him to ſwear; that *Hughſon* told him he 'muſt wiſh the thunder to ſtrike him down if he ever diſ-'covered it; that he repeated *Hughſon*'s words and kiſſed 'the book.

3. 'That *Hughſon* aſked the priſoner, whether his maſter 'had guns, ſwords or cutlaſſes? he anſwered, no, but that 'his maſter had ſword blades; but ſaid, that he never carried 'any there.

4. 'That *Hughſon* told him, he muſt kill his maſter and 'all the family, and that he muſt burn the houſe. That he 'ſaid his maſter was too good to kill; but conſented to kill 'any body elſe, and to do what other miſchief he could.

5. 'That *Hughſon* told him he muſt do this when he ſaw 'a great many houſes on fire in the night, and great hurry 'and noiſe of the people, that he ſhould come out and join 'with the reſt: That he muſt get a knife; to which he an-'ſwered, he would get a ſword blade which would do bet-'ter; that *Hughſon* told him, if he would come in the af-'ternoon, he might ſee a great number of negroes who were 'concerned.——Said, that he could not go out in the 'afternoon.

6. 'That he went a third time of a ſunday morning with 'the ſame company as before; and that they again drank 'rum, and had much the ſame diſcourſe as the former; 'that *Hughſon* was very earneſt in the affair.

7. 'That once ſince he heard ſomething of the negroes 'riſing by Mr. De Lancey's *Pompey*, who came to Mr. '*Soumain*'s door, and aſked the priſoner whether he had 'heard any talk of the negroes riſing? he anſwered, not I; 'why, have you?

8. 'That *Hughſon* told him, *Quaſh* and *Quack*, that af-'ter they had conquered, then they would know what it was 'to be free men; and then he would tell the priſoner what 'poſt he was to have.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Pompey* (De Lancey's) confeſſion § 6. 22*d June.*

*Examination and confeſſion of* Jack, *Mr.* Murray's *negro, Before one of the Judges.*

*He ſaid,*

1. 'THAT ſoon after new-year holidays he went to *Comfort*'s to fetch tea-water; and as he was 'coming from thence he ſaw Vaarck's *Cæſar* ſtanding at '*Hughſon*'s door, who called to him to come thither; and 'when he came to the houſe, he ſaw *John Hughſon* in the 'entry, who aſked him to come in; and he went in, and '*Cæſar* followed him; and *Hughſon* aſked him to ſet his 'cag of tea-water down, and ſtay there a little, but he '(*Jack*) ſaid that he could not ſtay: *Hughſon* then told him, 'that he had better carry his cag of tea-water home, and 'then return again, and bring a gun and powder and bullets, 'and ſome negro with him, and then aſked him to drink 'ſome punch; and he drank a ſmall draught, and was

'then

'then going; but *Hughſon* made him promiſe to come back, 'and ſaid, when he returned they would talk about a plot; 'and ſo he went away: There were preſent in the room 'at this time, *Hughſon*, his wife and daughter, and *Peggy*, 'Vaarck's *Ceſar*, Walter's *Quack*, Pintard's *Ceſar*, old 'Mr. Jay's *Ben*, *Prince*, (Auboyneau's) *Coffee* (Mr. Phi-'lipſe's) and the Chief Juſtice's *Othello*, and three *Spaniſh* 'negroes.

2. 'That as he was going home with the tea-water he 'met *Adam*, his fellow-ſervant, by old Mr. *De Lancey's* 'houſe, and he told *Adam* where he had been and what 'had been talked of, and what company was at *Hughſon's*, 'as before mentioned; *Adam* thereupon ordered him to 'ſet his cag down; which he did, and gave it in charge 'to one of Mr. *De Lancey's* negro wenches, and ſaid they 'would go down there and drink ſome punch; and they 'went accordingly.

3. 'When they came to *Hughſon's*, they found the ſame 'company *Jack* had left, and the cloth was laid and the 'ſupper getting: He heard them talking when he came 'into the entry, of burning the houſes and killing the white 'people, and of taking all the gentlewomen for their 'wives.

4. 'That when *Adam* and he came into the room, '*Hughſon* aſked them, whether they would do as they were 'going to do; which he ſaid was "to ſet the town on fire, "and to kill the white men and to keep the white women "for their wives;" to get all their maſter's guns and ſwords 'and piſtols, and when their maſters came to put out the 'fires, to kill them all? *Adam* anſwered, *he would do the* '*ſame*; and he, *Jack*, ſaid *he would do the ſame*: Then '*Hughſon* carried *Adam* and him up ſtairs, and brought *a* '*book to ſwear them*; but he, *Jack*, would not ſwear *by* '*the book*, but he kiſſed his hand, and ſaid that *he would* '*ſtand to it*; but *Adam* put his hand *upon the book* and kiſſed 'it, and ſaid *he would ſtand to it*: Then Hughſon *produced* '*a paper*, and ſaid it was an agreement of the blacks to 'kill the white folks; and *he put his* (Jack's) *and* Adam's '*names down in it*, as he, *Jack*, underſtood him.

5. 'That after this they went down ſtairs again to the 'reſt of the company, and there they found two negro 'men a fiddling to them, before whom *Hughſon* and the 'blacks talked of the like diſcourſe: one fidler belonged 'to HOLT named *Joe*, the other Kierſtede's *Braveboy*:

'*The*

'The negroes *shook hands with Adam and him, and wished them joy*; and Hughson *did the like to them*; and they all said, "they must keep every thing secret, and "stand to their words."'

6. 'They said they expected the *French* and *Spaniards* here, and then they would fire and plunder the town, and carry all to *Hughson's*, who was to carry them off into another country, and make them a free people; "but they "were to stay about two months before they began to let "fire, and then all of them were to begin at once."

7. 'That he (*Jack*) and *Adam* staid and eat some supper and drank some punch, and as soon as they had supped, went home together, and left the rest of the company behind: This meeting was of a sunday evening.

8. 'That he *Jack* went afterwards to *Hughson's* several times as he went to fetch tea-water, and was there once afterwards with *Adam*; that they always talked with *Hughson* and the negroes present about the plot, and when was the time to begin.

9. 'That Jay's *Brash* carried him (*Jack*) once to *Hughson's*, and another time Pintard's *Cæsar*; and that it was usual for them at such by-meetings *to swear without book*, that they all stand to their words and keep all secret.

10. 'That on Easter sunday he (*Jack*) and *Adam* went down to *Hughson's* after church in the afternoon; he (*Jack*) was to go to *Comfort's* for tea-water; *Adam* went in before, and he, *Jack*, went to *Comfort's* and left his cag there, and soon followed him thither after he had filled his cag; and there they met with Walter's *Quack*, Pintard's *Cæsar*, Ward's *Bill*, Jay's *Ben*, *Cuffee*, Philipse's, Auboyneau's *Prince*, *Brash*, *Cæsar*, Vaarck's, *Billy*, Mrs. Sims's, *Albany*, *Othello*, Hughson, *his wife and daughter Sarah*; and then *John Hughson* proposed to all the negroes last mentioned, and to him *Jack* and *Adam*, "That "they should meet at Mr. *Murray's* house that night; that "he (*Jack*) was to be in the kitchen, and to open the "Back-gate, whereat all those negroes were to come in, "and *Adam* and he were to come down stairs to them; "and then they were to proceed to set fire to the house, "murder his master and mistress, and all the white people "in the house": But he was interrupted by Mrs. *Dimmick's* * accidentally coming down into the kitchen, and sending him up to bed.

* Mr. Murray's house-keeper.

11. 'That

11. 'That after Mrs. *Dimmock* diſcovered him in the 'kitchen, and ſent him up to bed, a ſecond time he came 'down again, went into the yard and opened the back-'gate, and ſtaid in the yard half an hour, expecting the 'aforeſaid negroes coming according to the appointment 'aforeſaid; and they not coming, after his waiting ſo long 'time, he (*Jack*) went up to Mr. CRUGER's (the mayor's) 'corner, and there ſaw *Quack* (Walter's) and the other 'negroes who had engaged to come to his maſter's houſe 'as before mentioned; but they ſaid they could not come 'then, for they muſt go down to *Hughſon's*, and he (*Jack*) 'returned home, and went in at the kitchen-window and 'there ſlept; and ſtaid till the firſt cock-crowing, and 'then opened the kitchen door and fetched in wood to 'make the fire; intending thereby to make the family believe 'that he got up early and came down ſtairs to make it.

12. "That *Hughſon* at the ſame meeting propoſed to "the ſaid negroes, that they ſhould deſtroy Mr. *Murray*, "Mrs. *Murray*, and all the family, with knives; and "*Hughſon* aſked them all if they had got knives? and they "all ſaid they had; and pulled them out of their pockets; "and *Adam* pulled out a long knife, and all the reſt had "long knives;" but he, *Jack*, had a ſhort one, which he 'calls a penknife, a claſped penknife which he eats his 'victuals with; he had ſeen *Adam's* before; he was whet-'ting it one day upon the broad ſtones in the yard, and 'made it very ſharp, and eat meat with it in his maſter's 'kitchen before all the ſervants; but he obſerved he gene-'rally kept it in his cheſt, and "it was the ſame knife "which was found upon the general ſearch for ſtolen "goods *".

13. 'That when the ſnow was upon the ground about 'Chriſtmas laſt, he was at *Hughſon's*, having been at *Com-'fort's* for tea-water, and *Cæſar* (Vaarck's) ſtanding at '*Hughſon's* door, called him in to drink; *Prince* (Auboy-'neau's) *Cuffee* (Philipſe's) *Quack* (Walter's) and *Bill* '(Sims's) were in the entry; *Hughſon* called him (*Jack*) 'aſide, and told him, after he (*Jack*) and *Adam* had mur-'dered the whole family, that he (*Jack*) ſhould ſteal the 'plate out of the beaufets, the kitchen furniture, wearing 'apparel, linen, guns, ſwords, and every thing that was 'of value, and bring them to his (*Hughſon's*) houſe; that

* There was ſuch a knife found in Adam's cheſt upon the general ſearch, mentioned folio 19. col 1.

the

'the aboveſaid negroes ſhould aſſiſt them to bring them, and 'that they ſhould bury them under ground: *Hughſon* and 'his wife were both together with him (*Jack*) when he re- 'ceived theſe directions. *Jack* was unwilling at firſt, but 'at length conſented to undertake it.

14. 'That *Adam* was to kill his maſter and miſtreſs, 'Mrs. *Dimmock* and her daughter; and that he, *Jack*, was 'to kill *Cæſar*, *Congo* and *Dido* *, and after that they were 'to take the above mentioned goods and carry them to the 'place appointed; after which they were to return to the 'houſe and ſet fire to it; then go down again to *Hughſon*'s, 'and make ready for the general attack.

15. 'That this propoſal laſt aboveſaid was made by '*Hughſon* before that of the Eaſter-ſunday before mention- 'ed †, and that *Adam* was not then preſent.

The following perſons were apprehended and committed upon the examinations of yeſterday and this day, *viz.*

*Adam*, *Tom* (capt. R. Livingſton's) *Tom*, Hyer's, and *Cajoe*, Gomez's.

This day alſo, *Judy Pelham* made oath before *John Haight*, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace for the manor of *Cortlandt*, in the county of *Weſtcheſter*, that ſhe heard *Thomas Plumſtead*, a ſoldier, ſay, about three months ago, that there would be bloody times in *York* before harveſt, and that he muſt be in the midſt of it; and that there would be no time granted to take leave of wives or children.

This the juſtice certified in a letter to a gentleman in this place; but the fellow was not found.

## SATURDAY, 27th JUNE.

*Examination and confeſſion of* Adam, *negro of* JOSEPH MURRAY, *Eſq*;

*Taken before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. I.

He ſaid,

1. 'THAT about laſt new-year was three years, 'there was a match of cock-fighting at the houſe 'of *Adolph Philipſe*, Eſq; in the evening, amongſt the ne- 'groes, at which *John Hughſon* (who then lived upon the

* Three other of Mr. Murray's negroes. † See § 10. of this confeſſion.

'dock

'dock next door to *Sibbſon* the cooper) was preſent, and 'the following negroes, viz.

*Cuffee*, Philipſe's, *Braſs*, Jay's,
*Cæſar*, Vaarck's, *Quack*, Goelet's,
*Prince*, Auboyneau's, *Jack*, Roerback's,
*Cæſar*, Pintard's, *Quack*, Walter's,
*York*, Duyckinck's, *Othello*, Chief Juſtice's.

'And *Ventour* (Mr. Philipſe's) old negro man and the old 'wench were in the cellar-kitchen, but ſaw them all there.

2. 'That the company broke up about eight o'clock, and 'as they were all going out of the gate, *Hughſon* ſtopped 'him and aſked him if he would join with him, and the 'negroes in what they were going about? *Adam* aſked '*Hughſon* what that was? *Hughſon* ſaid they were going 'to ſet fire to the houſes of the town, and to kill the white 'people: He anſwered that he would be concerned with 'them: Then *Hughſon* aſked him to come to his houſe, 'and talk further upon it.

3. 'That accordingly he went to *Hughſon*'s houſe two 'or three days afterwards, and drank a bowl of punch with 'him there; *Hughſon* having carried him up ſtairs; over 'their liquor the converſation ran upon the intended plot; 'and *Hughſon* aſked him ſeveral times, whether he would 'engage in it? And he has often anſwered him yes: But '*Hughſon* ſeemed to diſtruſt him, and brought a book, 'which he took to be a common-prayer book, and would 'have had him ſwear to it; but he refuſed to ſwear to it 'at that time, and went away in half an hour: *Hughſon* told 'him at the ſame time, that Vaarck's *Cæſar*, Philipſe's '*Cuffee* and Auboyneau's *Prince*, and a great many more 'were to be concerned with them *.

4. 'That he uſed afterwards to go to *Hughſon*'s houſe 'whilſt he continued to live upon the dock; and *Hughſon* 'and he uſed to talk now and then about the intended plot, 'and *Hughſon* uſed to ſay, he would find arms and powder, 'but deſired he would get ſome too; to which *Adam* 'anſwered, he had no money to buy them: *Hughſon* there-'upon adviſed him to ſteal ſome for that purpoſe.

5. 'That about four or five days after drinking the bowl 'of punch as aforeſaid, he met *Cuffee* (Philipſe's) who ſaid, 'that *Hughſon* had informed him that he (*Adam*) had en-

* If what this negro ſays is true, this helliſh plot was ſome years a brooding before they attempted the execution of it; and thoſe negroes laſt mentioned were ſome of the heads and principals of their colour that were concerned in it.

'gaged

'gaged in the plot; *Cuffe* said that he had a key of his 'master's things, and he could come at what he pleased, 'and he could get some of his master's swords and guns; 'but he (*Adam*) being in haste, heard no more at that 'time.

6. 'That he has often seen *Cuffe* and *Prince* have plen- 'ty of money about them, silver and gold; *Cuffe* had 'once two doubloons, and offered to fight a cock for one 'of them; and *Prince* had once eight or nine Spanish dollars 'about him.

7. 'That soon after *Hughson* removed to his house at 'the North River* he, *Adam*, used to resort thither; and 'upon his enquiry concerning the plot, *Hughson* told him, 'that several white men were concerned with him in it, and 'a great many negroes; and that he kept a list.

8. 'That soon after new-year holidays last, of a sun- 'day afternoon (church just going out) he, *Adam*, was 'walking by old Mr. *De Lancey*'s, and met *Jack* his 'fellow servant, coming from *Comfort*'s with a cag of tea- 'water; they stopped, and *Jack* told him he was just come 'from *Hughson*'s, and that there was company there: '*Adam* asked *Jack* to go back with him to drink a dram 'there; and they went there together; and when they came 'into the house, he saw there in company, *Hughson*, his 'wife and daughter, and four or five white people more '(whose faces he believes he should remember if he saw 'them) and the following negroes, that is to say, *Cæsar*, 'Pintard's, *Cæsar*, Vaarck's, *Prince*, Auboyneau's; *Brush*, 'Jay's; *Pompey*, P. De Lancey's: *Hughson* carried him 'and *Jack* into another room, and his wife and daughter 'came in there; *Hughson* swore him and *Jack*, and made 'them put their hands on a book, which he took to be a 'common-prayer book, and made them kiss the book: The 'purport of the oath was, that they were to be true to those 'concerned in the plot; that they were to keep all secret, 'and perform what they had engaged to do; and if they 'discovered to any body, that they might be split with 'thunder and lightning: They were to murder their mas- 'ters and mistresses, kill all the white people, and to burn

* He removed thither in May, 1738. This house was more out of the way, private and fit for Hughson's purposes on all accounts for caballing and entertainment of negroes, and with respect to receiving stolen goods; it was said to be built with such privacies in the several rooms and cellars as might conceal run goods.

'the houses: After they were sworn, *Hughson* shook them 'by the hand and wished them much joy *.

9. 'That when *Hughson* first proposed the swearing, he 'was scrupulous about being concerned in the plot, and 'thought it was a great sin to do any such thing: But *Hugh-* 'son told him, that there was a man that he knew that could 'forgive him all his sins: Whereupon he took the oath. 'And when *Jack* and he had drank their dram out, they 'came away together.

10. 'That after this meeting at *Hughson*'s, he saw a lit- 'tle short man † four or five times at *Hughson*'s, who used 'to teach school at *Campbell*'s, who has just now been 'shewn him in prison, who *Hughson* told him was one of 'the TWO PRIESTS who could forgive sins; that he saw 'him twice in the room at *Hughson*'s, whispering and talk- 'ing with him, when many negroes were present; and he, '*Adam*, then suspected that the little man knew of the plot, 'and was concerned in it; but does not remember that '*Hughson* or the negroes talked out concerning the plot 'when that man was present ‡: Duane's *Prince* and La- 'tham's *Tony* were there at the same time, and Cowley's '*Cato*.

11. 'That he has heard *Hughson* and the negroes met 'at his house, talked of the plot when *John Romme* was 'present: That the first time *Hughson* proposed it to '*Romme* to be concerned, as *Cuffee* (Philipse) told him '(*Adam*) *Romme* seemed to decline it; but afterwards he 'promised to join with them, and seemed very forward for it.

12. 'That he saw *Holt* the dancing-master at *Hughson*'s 'about new-year holidays, at a meeting of the negroes, 'and another white man belonging to him, whom they called '*Doctor* § and lodged at *Holt*'s, whose name he knows 'not: There was likewise *Holt*'s negro *Joe* with them; 'and the discourse amongst them was about the plot; and 'he, *Adam*, took *Holt* and the other white man to be 'concerned. At last he saw *Hughson* bring a book to swear 'them; and they laid their hands upon it, and *Hughson* 'pronounced the following words, or something to the same 'effect, that they should be true to one another, and aid 'and assist in the plot, and not discover any secrets; and

* This agrees with Jack's account in the preceding examination, § 2, 3, 4, 5. and these negroes were examined apart, and had no opportunity of being or talking together after they were committed. † John Ury the priest, ‡ This agrees with Mary Burton's deposition concerning Ury, NUMB. IV. § 3. Thursday, 25th June. § Hamilton a pretended doctor.

'then

'then they kiſſed the book: And then *Holt*'s ſervant *Joe* 'was ſworn to the ſame purpoſe and in the ſame manner; 'and *Holt* commanded *Joe* that he ſhould ſet fire to the play-'houſe at ſuch time as he ſhould tell him: Holt's *Joe* had be-'fore this been telling him (*Adam*) that his maſter was con-'cerned, was to be one of them, and would go down ſuch 'a night to *Hughſon*'s to be ſworn; and he aſked him '(*Adam*) to go down to ſee him ſworn; which was the 'reaſon that carried him to *Hughſon*'s that night.

13. 'That *Holt* told *Hughſon*, that he had guns of his 'own, and powder he ſaid he had not enough: *Hughſon* 'anſwered, he need not make himſelf uneaſy about that, he 'had ſeven or eight barrels.

14. 'That *Holt* promiſed his man *Joe* to give him piſtols, 'and aſked him (*Adam*) whether his maſter had any arms? 'he, *Adam*, anſwered, he had ſome piſtols; *Holt* adviſed 'him to get ſome; and he ſaid he would, but powder he 'ſaid he could not get: But both *Hughſon* and *Holt* promiſ-'ed to ſupply him therewith.

15. 'That one of the four or five white men before 'mentioned to have been ſeen by him one time at *Hughſon*'s, 'was one of *Hughſon*'s brothers, a boatman (as he now re-'collects) he had a boat there: and he ſaw *John Hughſon* 'give him a ſmall box to put into it, to carry up the river.

16. 'That ſome time laſt ſummer, he, *Adam*, helped '*Quack* (Walter's) ride his maſter's coach-horſes out; and 'they came down to *Hughſon*'s, and went into the houſe; 'and *Hughſon* carried them up ſtairs, and ſwore *Quack* of 'the plot in the ſame manner, and the oath to the ſame 'purpoſe as *Holt*, *&c.* He, *Adam*, only went down there in 'order to drink a dram; and *Hughſon* aſked *Quack* to be 'concerned in the plot; and he directly anſwered yes, and 'was ſworn, as before; *Hughſon* told him, that they were 'to burn the houſes and kill the white people; and *Quack* 'then undertook to burn his maſter's houſe and cut his 'throat; and that *Quack* was as great a rogue as any of 'them.

17. 'That *Holt*'s *Joe* told him (*Adam*) not once, but an 'hundred and an hundred times, that he, *Adam*, need not 'be afraid; for that his (*Joe*'s) maſter was concerned in the 'plot; and that he had ſpoke to *Hughſon* for the biggeſt room 'he had there, to hold a free maſon's lodge *.

* Holt it ſeems was a free maſon.

18. 'That

18. 'That he has heard of the great feaſt of a ſunday 'evening at *Hughſon's*, but was not there; but believes it 'was a month or ſix weeks before the fort burnt.

19. 'That he, *Adam*, was at a meeting at *Comfort's*, 'which he believes was about a fortnight after that at *Hugh-ſon's* laſt mentioned; where were met a great number of 'negroes in the kitchen and ſhop; he, *Adam*, was in the 'ſhop: This was alſo of a ſunday afternoon church juſt 'out; and there were preſent, his fellow-ſervant *Jack*, 'Marſchalk's *Diego*, P. De Peyſter's *Pedro*, *Othello*, *Caſar* '(Pintard's) *Cato* (col. Moore's) *Patrick* (Engliſh's) *Ben* '(Marſhall's) *Albany*, and Kierſtede's *Braveboy*: There 'they all talked about the plot; but he, *Adam*, ſtaid but 'a little time.

20. 'That he has been acquainted with *Quack* (Walter's) 'from their childhood, uſed to play marbles together; and 'that he has often talked with him about the plot, before 'the frolick in the Bowry-lane which *Curacoa Dick* told 'him of; and he always ſeemed to be as active and for-'ward in it as any body.

21. 'That one ſunday morning laſt ſummer, he and '*Pompey* (P. De Lancey's) were taking a walk, and they 'met at a well by the new Dutch church *Othello* and *Brave-'boy*, who were both very drunk; and *Adam* aſked them 'where they had been? they ſaid, they had been a frolick-'ing in the fields (he underſtood they had been at ſome free 'negro's houſe in Bowry-Lane) at which frolick *Othello* 'ſaid, that *Robin* and *Suſſex* (Mrs. Bickley's negroes) were 'preſent, and Tiebout's *Curacoa Dick*.

22. 'That the ſame ſunday morning he afterwards met 'the ſaid *Curacoa Dick*, who ſaid they had been dancing at 'the ſaid frolick, and he fiddled; and that *Suſſex* paid him 'therefore two pieces of eight, which he called Dutch dol-'lars; he told him ſo before Mr. Cruger's coachman *Ha-'nover*; and the ſaid *Dick* called him aſide from *Hanover*, 'and told him that they had been talking there about the 'plot, and ſaid that *Quack* (Walter's) was there. And he, '*Adam*, ſaw *Quack* (Walter's) leading a horſe into a ſtable 'near the new Dutch church, a little before he met *Curacoa* '*Dick*, and he believes *Pompey* ſaw him alſo, but he and *Pom-'pey* were parted before he, *Adam*, met *Curacoa Dick*; he, '*Adam*, and *Pompey* being going to their reſpective maſter's 'ſtables: He, *Adam*, obſerved that *Quack* was very drunk; 'juſt turned his maſter's horſe into the ſtable, and ſhut the 'door and went away.

23. 'That when he met *Curaçoa Dick*, he ſaid, mate, 'we wanted you very much laſt night at a frolick out of 'town; that they had a free dance and were very merry; 'and he pulled two Dutch dollars out of his pocket, which '*Suſſex* had given him for fiddling, and ſhewed them to 'him; and ſaid no body elſe had given him any thing; 'He leaned upon the poſt, and ſhook his head when he, '*Adam*, came up to him; and he, *Adam*, ſaid, Dick, you 'have ſome ill thoughts in your head; *Dick* anſwered, he 'was not afraid to tell him; he would tell him the truth; 'he then ſaid, that *Othello* and *Quack* (Walter's) both knew 'of the plot; and that at this frolick they all talked of it; and 'that there were preſent at that meeting the negroes follow-'ing, *Othello*, *Quack* (Walter's) *Braveboy*, *Robin*, *Suſſex*. This '*Dick* told him before *Hanover*, Mr. Cruger's coachman.

24. 'That *Cuffee* (Philipſe's) told him, that he uſed often 'to talk to *John Romme*, about the plot; and that he had 'promiſed him a great while to get an old ſword or two 'for him (*Romme*) and this he ſaid when he, *Adam*, met 'him carrying an old ſword under his coat to *Romme's*; 'and he knew that *Cuffee* uſed frequently to go thither.

25. 'That it was a great while ago ſince *Quack* (Walter's) 'told him that *Othello* was concerned in the plot; that he 'has frequently talked to him about it; and he was to do the 'ſame that he and *Jack* were to do; that is to ſay, to kill 'his maſter and miſtreſs, and the reſt of the family; and 'he, *Adam*, and the reſt of them who were to murder 'Mr. MURRAY's family, were to aſſiſt in murdering the 'chief juſtice's *.

26. 'That he recollects, that he (*Adam*) ſpoke to *Othello* 'about the plot, a few days after *Hughſon* had propoſed it 'to him at the cock-fighting at Mr. *Philipſe's* houſe; and 'he (*Adam*) aſked him to be concerned; he (*Othello*) ſaid, 'he would, and laughed, and ſeemed by his behaviour to 'have known of it before.

27. 'That ſince the fires began to break out, after the 'fort burnt, he once ſaid to *Suſſex*, at Mr. *Murray's*, how 'came the fort to be fired? *Suſſex* anſwered, Lord have 'mercy upon us! what will become of us all? *Adam* replied, 'he did not know.

28. 'That *Jack* his fellow-ſervant and he (*Adam*) have 'been very intimate ever ſince Mr. *Freeman's* time; 'and that ſoon after his coming to town after Mr. *Freeman's*

* See Jack's examination, 25th June. § 10.

'death,

'death, he (*Jack*) mentioned the plot firſt to him (*Adam*) 'and told him that *Quack* (Walter's) firſt mentioned it to 'him (*Jack*) and aſked him to be concerned.

29. 'That on Eaſter-ſunday laſt, he and *Jack* his fellow-'ſervant went down to the north river together; *Jack* was 'to fetch tea-water at *Comfort*'s: He went to *Hughſon*'s 'houſe, and *Jack* left his cag at *Comfort*'s and followed him 'to *Hughſon*'s; when they came there, they found in one 'room, *John Hughſon*, his wife and daughter *Sarah*, and 'Peggy, and the following negroes, viz. Walter's *Quack*, 'Othello, Pintard's *Cæſar*, Ward's *Bill*, *Caſſe* Philipſe's, 'Prince Auboyneau's, *Braſh*, *Cæſar* Vaarck's, *Billy* Mrs. 'Sims's (now Ten Eyck's) and *Albany*; and *John Hugh-'ſon* then propoſed to the ſaid negroes, in preſence of the 'ſaid white people, that they ſhould meet at Mr. *Murray*'s 'houſe that night; and that *Jack* was to be in the kitchen, 'and open the back-gate, where all thoſe other negroes were 'to come in, and he, *Adam*, was to come down ſtairs to them; 'and then they were to proceed to ſet fire to the houſe, 'murder his maſter and miſtreſs, and all the white people 'in the family; and he, *Adam*, was to murder *Congo*, and '*Jack* to murder *Cæſar* (two other of his maſter's negroes) 'and then all the ſaid negroes were to go out and kill all the 'white people that ſhould come to extinguiſh the fire: The 'murder was to have been committed with knives, and the 'knife found in his (*Adam*'s) cheſt upon the general ſearch, 'was kept for that purpoſe; but the negroes ſo appointed, did 'not come that night, though they all agreed and promiſed '*Hughſon* ſo to do, and upon which *Hughſon* gave them 'a bowl of punch*.

30. 'That he and *Jack* have always been very inti-'mate; they never talked any thing before *Congo* or *Cæſar*, 'their Fellow Servants: they always talked by themſelves, 'and don't believe they know any thing of it; nor ever 'heard *Jack* ſay that they did; he believes that if *Jack* had 'ſpoke to them about it, to be ſure he would have told him 'of it.

31. 'That when *Jack* returned from fetching water at '*Comfort*'s, he was generally drunk; and from that ſuſ-'pected that he had been at *Hughſon*'s.

*Evidence affecting this Negro.*

*Jack* (Murray's) confeſſion, 26*th June*.

*Tom* (Livingſton's) confeſſion, § 4. *pag.* 226.

* See Jack's examination, § 10, 11. pag. 202, 203.

This negro, *Adam*, was very willing to lay hold of the benefit of the proclamation beforementioned, but would intitle himself to it by saying as little as possible to enlarge the discovery of the confederates in this dark scheme: He was under examination several hours, several days running; the information that he gave came from him slowly and by piece-meals, which was very tiresome; and gave so much trouble, that he was several times remanded to jail, and told that what he said would do him little service; but as the constable was taking him away, he would beg to stay, and say he would tell of all he could recollect. While he was under examination this day, it was told before *Adam*, that the chief justice's negro *Othello* was brought from *Rhode-Island*, and carrying to jail, and hearing that, he immediately said, *Othello* was concerned in the plot; as if naturally concluding that somebody else had impeached him; for till this accident, he had not mentioned his name. This *Adam* had a general acquaintance amongst the negroes, and idle time enough for doing any mischief; and 'twas supposed, that he must have known most of the negroes concerned; though he mentioned very few but what wewere apprized of before and had already been either executed or apprehended.

It was observed by several in Mr. *Murray*'s family, some time before *Adam*'s commitment, that his behaviour was such as betokened strong symptoms of guilt; he appeared very uneasy and disturbed in his mind; and much more so when *Jack* his fellow-servant was taken up as one concerned in the conspiracy; for the next morning he came several times into the clerk's office, with a seeming intention to disclose some secret; the young gentlemen at last took notice of it, and shutting the door too, asked him, whether he knew any thing of the plot? He denied he did; but said, he was afraid, some dog or another would owe him a spight, and bring him in; for that people talked a great deal of him.

In the afternoon, Mr. *Murray* having been present and assisting at his negro *Jack*'s examination, upon his return home, found *Adam* runnting backwards and forwards like a distracted creature; he called him into his study, and charged him as one concerned in the conspiracy; which he absolutely denied, and protested his innocence: His master endeavoured, and used many arguments, to prevail with him to confess if he was guilty, but to no purpose; and then he delivered him to the constable.

In

In the evening two of Mr. *Murray*'s clerks went to ſee *Adam* in the jail, to try how far they could prevail upon him: and as ſoon as he knew they were come, he deſired leave to ſpeak with them privately; which being granted, he began with exclamations, and proteſtations of his innocence, declaring that it was nothing but damn'd lies that brought him there; that he knew who was the author of them, and would be revenged if he died for it: The young gentlemen reaſoned with him, telling him if he was innocent to inſiſt upon it, and not be afraid; for he might be aſſured of having juſtice done him; but if he was guilty, his denying it would ſignify nothing; for that they knew as much of the plot, as they that were concerned in it; and the only way to recomend himſelf to favour, was by making a full confeſſion: He then conſidered a while; and deſired to know his accuſer; they told him, they believed it was *Jack*; which as ſoon as he heard, he ſaid, then I am a dead man; ſtriking his head againſt one of the beams of the jail, and ſaid further, he was afraid the dog would have ſerved him ſo. Then he gave the young gentlemen his ſhoe and knee-buckles [being ſilver] and ſome other things, deſiring they might be delivered to his brother *Cæſar* [another negro of Mr. *Murray*'s.] In this manner they parly'd with him a full hour, till at length, tired with his obſtinacy, they concluded to leave him; but he preſſed them to ſtay, ſtill giving them ſome hopes of his confeſſion: They told him they had no occaſion to ſtay to hear him repeat the ſame things over again: He then aſked them, what they would have him to ſay? Upon which they told him, they would have him ſpeak ſincerely, whether he was guilty or not: Why then ſaid he, to ſpeak ſincerely, I am guilty.

*Confeſſion of* Harry, KIP's *negro, under conviction, Before one of the Judges.*

HE *ſaid*, 'That all that the witneſſes teſtified againſt him, in court on his trial was true: *Baſtian* was the 'firſt that told him of it; he went to *Comfort*'s for tea-'water; ſaw a great many negroes there; talk'd about the 'conſpiracy; he drunk drams, and conſented to burn the 'houſes, and kill the people; he was only in the kitchen, 'which was very full, and they ſoon made him drunk, and 'ſaid he muſt burn his miſtreſs's houſe, which he conſent-'ed to: *Derrick Cook*'s negro was there; Moore's *Cato*

'was there; *Starling*, Mr. Lawrence's negro there; *Dick*, 'Mr. Ten Eyck's by *Coentjes* market there.

*Confeſſion of* Cato, *Mr.* Shurmur's *negro, under conviction, Before one of the Judges.*

HE *ſaid*, 1. 'That all the witneſſes who ſpoke againſt him 'at his trial, ſpoke the truth.

2. '*Jack* * was the firſt who told him of the plot, and 'ſaid, *Cato*, if I tell you any thing, will you ſtand to it? he 'ſaid he would: *Jack* then told him, there are great com-'panies to be made up to take this town: *Cato* then aſked 'him where they muſt come to conſult of it? *Jack* told him 'he muſt come to his houſe, and if he did not find him at 'home, he muſt go to *Hughſon*'s. This was laſt ſummer.

3. '*York*, *London* †, and he went to *Hughſon*'s, and call'd 'for half a pint of rum; *Hughſon* not at home, but ſaw 'the wife and daughter there; *Jack* was not there, and ſo 'they went away again.

4. 'Talk'd with *Jack* ſeveral times in the ſtreet about it 'afterwards.

5. 'He was at the great meeting at *Hughſon*'s, when they 'had the GREAT SUPPER, about four or five weeks before 'the fort burnt, and there the plot was talk'd of, as 'mentioned by the witneſſes: ‡ They ſwore, That ſome 'when they were there went down into the cellar; 40 or '50 negroes there; the room not big enough to hold them 'all, and ſome in the yard; nor could all ſit down to table, 'he did not ſee any book there, but they all ſwore to do 'as engaged; which was to burn the fort firſt, and then all 'the houſes in the town; every one to fire either their maſ-'ter's houſes, or ſome other houſes, and kill the people: 'He was to ſet the neighbours houſes on fire, and not his 'maſter's §.

6. 'That he met Gomez's *Cuffee*, and told him he had 'promiſed *Jack* to ſet the neighbour's houſe on fire ‖, and 'aſked *Cuffee* if he had his tinder-box about him? (for he 'knew he ſmok'd, and had a new one, and he, *Cato*, had 'none) he ſaid he had one; *Cato* then told him, if he

* Comfort's. † Marſchalk's. ‡ See Jack, Comfort's, and Baſtian's evidence on the trial, pag. 169. 170 § His maſter lived in Ben Thomas's neighbourhood. ‖ Probably at the great meeting at capt. Jack's; for all the negroes preſent, it ſeems, promiſed him to do ſomething; See Jack, Comfort's, confeſſion, pag. 130. § 31.

'would

'would go and and ſet fire to *Ben Thomas*'s houſe, he would 'give him half a pint of rum: He agreed to do it, and ſaid 'he would watch his opportunity when no body ſaw him: 'That he [*Cuffee*] did go and do it, and returned and told 'him ſo; and immediately fire was cried out: He gave 'him the rum. That evening he [*Cato*] met *Jack*, Com-'fort's, as witneſſed againſt him, and told him he [*Cato*] 'had done the buſineſs *, concealing that Gomez's *Cuffee* 'had done it, leſt *Jack* ſhould blame him for not doing 'as he promiſed. Furman's *Harry* he ſaw at *Comfort's*; 'Ward's *Will* (a watch maker's) at *Hughſon's*, and [he *Will*] 'ſwore; Peter De Lancey's *Pompey* (lives ſometimes in 'town and ſometimes in country) at *Comfort's*, [he] ſwore, 'a knife in his pocket; Kortrecht's *Ceſar* at both houſes, 'and [he] ſwore.

7. 'T'was agreed at *Hughſon's*, that the fort was to burn 'firſt, and that *Quack* ſhould do it, becauſe he had a wife 'there; then they agreed after that done, they ſhould all 'ſet fire as they could.

8. 'That when they went about the ſwearing, *Hughſon* 'told the negroes preſent, that they muſt not attempt to draw 'in any one that was not their countryman: That if they 'met with any countrymen, they muſt tell them ſo; and 'if they found they were likely to come in, then they might 'tell them of the plot; and thoſe that were willing, they 'were to bring to *Hughſon's* to be ſworn †.

Now many negroes began to ſqueak, in order to lay hold of the benefit of the proclamation; ſome who had been apprehended but not indicted; and many who had been indicted and arraigned, who had pleaded not guilty, were diſpoſed to retract their pleas and plead guilty, and throw themſelves on the mercy of the court; ſo that confeſſions were like to be numerous, and buſineſs to multiply upon our hands; which made it neceſſary to call in ſome gentlemen of the law to our aſſiſtance upon the occaſion, who very readily undertook the taſk.

Before the iſſuing of the proclamation of the 19th inſtant, for the encouragement of the conſpirators to come in, and make voluntary and free confeſſion and diſcovery, *&c.* there were betwixt ſixty and ſeventy negroes in jail, who had been

* Meaning the ſetting fire to Ben Thomas's houſe.

† Theſe two laſt confeſſions ſhould have been placed the 20th June; for they were then taken, being the next day after the conviction of theſe two criminals; but being miſlaid, and not coming to hand before the printer had got beyond that day, occaſioned their being inſerted here.

already impeached; many of whom after publishing the proclamation, not only confessed their own guilt, in order to entitle themselves to the benefit of it, as may appear by the foregoing examinations; but also discovered many of their accomplices, who were at large; who were thereupon immediately taken into custody, by order of the judges, or grand jury, as the case happened before whom such confessions were made; so that between the 19th and this day, there were upwards of thirty slaves more added to the former, insomuch that the jail began to be so thronged, 'twas difficult to find room for them; and we were apprehensive, that the criminals would be daily multiplying on our hands; nor could we see any likelihood of a stop to impeachments; for it seemed very probable that most of the negroes in town were corrupted.

The season began to grow warm, as usual; and it was to be expected that the heat would be increasing upon us daily; so that the judges found there was a necessity of bethinking themselves of taking such speedy measures, as should upon deliberation be thought most adviseable, for ridding the jail of such of them as should by their confessions be thought most deserving of recommendation to mercy; for it was feared such numbers of them closely confined together, might breed an infection; and they must needs have been very offensive to the poor debtors imprisoned in the city-hall, which from the necessity of the case could not have been prevented or remedied: Therefore the judges associated to them the several gentlemen of the law that were in town, *viz.* Messieurs *Murray*, *Alexander*, *Smith*, *Chambers*, *Jamison*, *Nicholls* and *Lodge*, in order to consult about this matter, and come to some resolution upon the emergency.

The result of the meeting was, those gentlemen unanimously agreed to bear their respective shares in the fatigue of the several prosecutions; and settled among themselves the part each should take: Messieurs *Murray*, *Alexander*, *Smith* and *Chambers*, were to assist in their turns, as council upon the several trials, as it should best suit their respective convenience, and Messieurs *Nicholls* and *Lodge*, to take the negroes confessions, and abstract them and the other evidence into briefs, for the counsel upon the trials. [Mr. *Jamison* being high-sheriff of the city, had other sufficient business upon his hands.]

The gentlemen thus assigned for taking the confessions having attended most of the trials of the conspirators already passed,

paſſed, and likewiſe ſeveral examinations of criminals, were well acquainted with the account of the plot, according to the courſe of the evidence concerning it which had hitherto been brought to light; and as it was to be expected, they would have their hands full of that kind of buſineſs, it was neceſſary that ſome ſcheme ſhould be ſettled for the more ready diſpatch of it: Accordingly a method was propoſed, and approved amongſt us; a draught with ſeveral columns, *viz.* one for the name of each negro; another for his reſpective owner; another for the matter or ſubſtance of the confeſſion; another for the negroes they accuſed; and two others for the place where ſworn at, *viz. Hughſon*'s or *Comfort*'s; for *Jack*, *Comfort*'s negro, was a principal agent for *Hughſon*, and (as may already have been obſerved from the courſe of the evidence) had corrupted many negroes, and adminiſtred the conſpirators oath to them.

The negroes in general that came to a confeſſion agreed in the impeachment of *Hughſon* and his family; that the drift of the plot was to burn the town and deſtroy the inhabitants; that they were ſworn into the confederacy at *Hughſon*'s, or by *Hughſon*, or ſome perſon intruſted by him for that purpoſe.

As this was already diſcovered to be the execrable purpoſe of the conſpiracy, theſe gentlemen (conſidering the great number to be examined) for the ſake of diſpatch, dropt what was at this time leaſt material, and only minuted down the perſons accuſed, the matter affecting them, where and by whom ſworn, and what elſe came from their examinant which they judged to be moſt ſignificant; which is the reaſon that the examinations and confeſſions taken by thoſe two gentlemen are ſo conciſe.

But further; in order to ſave room, and avoid drawing out this Journal to an unneceſſary length, which of itſelf is like to ſpin out to a degree beyond patience; the compiler choſe not to ſet them forth in the ſame manner they were taken, but made them yet ſhorter, by incorporating the ſubſtance of the ſeveral columns into the form in which they now appear.

*Confeſſions taken this day by* Mr. Nicholls *and* Mr. Lodge, *of the* fifteen *following negroes.*

NUMB. I.

*Jack* (Breaſted's) ſaid, 'that *Cæſar* * carried him to '*Hughſon*'s; that *Hughſon* told him he muſt join with them

* Vaarck's, hanged.

'in

'in a plot they were making, and swore him to set his mis-
'ter's house on fire, and to cut his mistress's throat.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Pompey* (De Lancey's) confession. § 5. 22*d June.*

NUMB. II.

*Patrick* (English's) said, 'that *Cato* (Moore's) lifted and
'swore him, at Mr. *Moore*'s garden, to be his boy; and to
'go a frolick with him; that it was after the fort burnt.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Peggy*'s examination, N°. I. 9*th May.*
*Sandy* or *Sawney*'s examination, I. § 12. 22*d May.*
III. § 8. 1*st June.*
*Sarah*, Burk's examination, II. 1*st June.*
*Tickle*'s examination, II. § 10. 13*th June.*
*Pompey* (De Lancey's) examination, § 5. 22*d June.*
*Dundee*'s examination, § 7, 9. 24*th June.*

NUMB. III.

*Low* (Provoost) said, 'that *Hughson* gave him the book to
'swear to stand by them to overcome the city.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Cato*, Col. Moore's, confession, § 8. 22*d June.*

NUMB. IV.

*York* (Peck's) said, 'that *Hughson* swore him, and promis-
'ed to furnish him; that *Hughson*'s daughter was present
'when he was sworn.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Cæsar*, Alderman Pintard's, confession, § 2. 22*d June.*

NUMB. V.

*Guy* (Horsefield's said, 'that *Quack* and *Albany* swore
'him at *Hughson*'s.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Quack*'s confession at the stake, § 4. 30*th May.*
*Cambridge*'s confession, 30*th June.*

NUMB. VI.

*Will* (Lush's) said, 'that *Albany* asked him to go and
'sup at *Hughson*'s; where they went; that *Hughson* brought
'him punch and drams; that he swore him, *Will*, and told
'him he would furnish him with a gun.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Sandy*'s examination, N° IV. § 4. 22*d June.*
*Pompey*, De Lancey's, confession, § 5. 22*d June.*

NUMB. VII. *Second confession.*

*Mink* (Groesbeck's) said, 'that *Hughson* swore him in
'the plot in *February* last.

*Set*

*See before* 18th June, *notes of evidence affecting him, adjoined to his firſt confeſſion.*

NUMB. VIII.

*Jeffery* (capt. Brown's) ſaid, 'that laſt *January*, *Hughſon* ſwore him into the plot; and that the firſt of *April* the 'whole company was to be muſtered.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Mars*, Benſon's, confeſſion, 29th *June*.

NUMB. IX.

*York* (Thompſon's) ſaid, 'that ſome time laſt winter, 'Furman's *Harry* carried him to *Hughſon*'s with Wooll's 'Dick, and told the priſoner of the plot, and not to tell a-'ny body; That *London* (A. Van Horn's) was told by the 'priſoner of the plot, and he agreed to be one: There were 'preſent at the ſame time at *Hughſon*'s, beſides the before-'mentioned, *Jack*, Comfort's, and *Warwick*, Hunt's.

NUMB. X. *Second confeſſion.*

*Tom* (Soumain's) ſaid, 'that *Hughſon* told him he muſt 'fire his maſter's houſe, and kill his maſter, there were pre-'ſent at *Hughſon*'s at the ſame time, *Quack*, Rooſevelt's, 'and *Quaſh*, Rutgers's.

*See notes of evidence affecting this negro adjoined to his confeſſion*, 26th June.

NUMB. XI.

*Scipio* (Abrahamſe's) ſaid, 'That he was at *Hughſon*'s 'at the great ſupper; that *Hughſon* ſwore him to burn the 'houſes and kill the people.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Starling*'s confeſſion, § 3. 23d June.

NUMB. XII. *Firſt confeſſion.*

*Tom* (Livingſton's) ſaid, 'That laſt ſummer he met *Lewis* (Schuyler's) in the fields; that *Lewis* told him, he 'muſt kill his maſter and miſtreſs, and carried the priſoner 'to *Hughſon*'s, that *Hughſon* ſwore both of them, and to 'keep it ſecret; and that he afterwards wanted to fight *Lewis* for not doing what *Hughſon* bid him.

*See evidence againſt this negro referred to under his ſecond confeſſion*, 28th June.

NUMB. XIII.

*Deptford* (Cruger's) ſaid 'That *Pompey*, De Lancey's, 'and *Cæſar*, Pintard's, firſt engaged him to be concerned 'in the conſpiracy, and *Will*, Ward's, afterwards.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Pompey*, De Lancey's, confeſſion, § 10. 22d. June.

NUMB.

NUMB. XIV.

*Pompey* (Gilbert's) *ſaid*, 'That *Diego*, Hildreth's, engaged him firſt to be concerned, and to burn his miſtreſs's houſe, and to get a gun to kill the white people; and preſſed him to go to *Hughſon*'s. That afterwards he was at *Hughſon*'s, and drank beer, and ſaw many negroes.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Pompey*, De Lancey's, confeſſion, § 10. 22d June.

NUMB. XV.

*Prince* (Gabriel Crooke's) ſaid, 'That Mrs. *Stilwell's Pedro* carried him to *Hughſon*'s, and *Hughſon* ſwore them to ſtand by him, to kill the white people and fire the houſe *.

2. 'That Marſchalk's *York*, when the firſt negroes were burning, told *Prince*, that now it was a fit time to kill the white people; but *Prince* anſwered, no, there were too many whites to attempt it.

3. 'That *Titus*, Mr. *Phœnix*'s negro, was one day laſt fall on the dock with the priſoner, at one *Myers*'s a gunſmith; that *Titus* aſked *Myers* to ſell him a gun to ſhoot partridges with; but *Myers* would not ſell him one; that afterwards he ſaw *Titus*, and aſked him what he wanted to buy a gun for? That *Titus* told him, he had been at *Hughſon*'s, and they were to riſe and kill the white people.

4. 'That ſome time before the fort was burnt he was at Mr. *Marſton*'s; that *Catline*, Mr. *Marſton*'s negro, was drunk talking to himſelf in the yard, that the negroes were fools to do here as they had done in the hot country; for they all burnt and hanged for it in the hot country †.

5. 'That there were preſent at the ſame time at *Hughſon*'s, *York* of Gabriel Crook, *Titus* of Phœnix, *Cato*, Mr. Moore's, *Harry*, Kip's, and *Harry*, Furman's.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Cæſar* (Pintard's) confeſſion, § 4. 22d *June.*
*Cato* (col. Moore's) confeſſion, § 2, 6. 22d *June.*
*York* (Marſchalk's) confeſſion, § 6. 20th *June.*
*London* (Marſchalk's) confeſſion, § 6. 20th *June.*

*Confeſſions of the four following negroes taken by Mr.* George Joſeph Moore.

NUMB. I. *Quack*, Walter's, *ſecond confeſſion.*

*Quack* (Mr. *Walter*'s negro) ſaid, 'That one wedneſday or thurſday he was at *Hughſon*'s, between five and ſix

* This in the negroes dialect ſignifies houſes, i. e. the town.

† Probably alluding to the conſpiracy at Antigua, for which many negroes were executed four or five years ago.

'o'clock

'o'clock in the afternoon, he went with Vaarck's *Cæſar* 'and Philipſe's *Cuffee*, and *Prince*, and Van Dam's *John*, 'they called for a tankard of egg-punch; they drank it, and '*Cæſar* aſked him, if he (the priſoner) would conclude along 'with them to ſet a great many houſes on fire? and *Cæſar* 'ſaid, then they would make their eſcape; for he had an 'opportunity to go: The priſoner then told him he believ-'ed he would; but would conſider of it, and give him an 'anſwer.

NUMB. II.

*Bridgewater* (Mr. David Van Horn's) ſaid, 'that a little 'before Chriſtmas on a ſunday morning, Cowley's *Cato* call-'ed to him as he ſtood at Mr. *Van Horn*'s door, and aſked 'him to drink a dram? he the priſoner went with him to '*Hughſon*'s; a white woman gave them a dram; *Hughſon* 'was gone out; they came from *Hughſon*'s and went to the 'new-dock; *Cato* there ſaid, countryman, will you help? 'help what? ſaid the priſoner; he anſwered, to ſet houſes 'on fire, and kill white folks: The priſoner ſaid, that could 'not be done, and it was wrong; to which *Cato* anſwered, 'there are a great many that will help; who are they? *Cato* 'anſwered, there are many Spaniſh negroes, *Cook*, *Francis*. 'To which the priſoner ſaid, if you have ſo many, I will be 'one, and try what I can do. In the afternoon *Cato* call-'ed again on the priſoner, and aſked him to go to *Comfort*'s? 'he went to ſee *Jack*; *Jack* was not at home; *Cook* aſked 'him, what are you come to help too? he anſwered, yes; 'it is very well, ſaid *Cook*: He went away; and this is all 'he knows.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Cæſar* (Pintard's) confeſſion, § 4. 22*d June.*
*Cato* (Moore's) confeſſion, § 2, 6. 22*d June.*

NUMB. III.

*York* (Ch. Crooke's) ſaid, 'that on the ſecond day of 'Chriſtmas he took a walk to the meal-market; met with 'Comfort's *Jack*, who called to him and aſked him to go 'and drink a dram; went with him to *Hughſon*'s houſe: '*Jack* had told him there, the negroes were going to riſe; 'he had got guns, powder, knife, but ſaid, they wanted 'hands, for they had not got many yet; to which *York* an-'ſwered, he would be one: *Hughſon* aſked him to drink a 'dram; the priſoner ſaid thank you, and drank; *Hughſon* 'ſaid, boy, will you ſtand by it? to which the priſoner anſwer-'ed, he would: *Hughſon* ſaid, if he would not be true, he

'would ſtick him with a ſword, and pointed to one in a 'corner of the room; *Hughſon* ſaid, boy, if you will ſtand 'by it, you muſt kiſs the book; the priſoner did; and ſaid, 'he would ſtand by it, and would not be a coward: *Hugh-* 'ſon then ſaid, if you will, you ſhall be always welcome to 'my houſe, come at any time. This was in the kitchen, '*Jack*, *Hughſon*, and he only preſent. *Hughſon* made him 'ſo drunk that he could not ſtand; ſeveral negroes were in 'another room; does not know them; for he did not ſee 'them, only heard their tongues.

2. 'Had been at *Comfort*'s very often, and talked of it 'with *Jack* and *Cook*; ſaw *Sam*, Low's negro there, Marſ- 'chalk's two negroes, Cowley's *Cato*, col. Moore's *Cato*, 'Peck's *Cæſar*. *Hughſon* ſaid, ſtand by it, boys, to fight and 'take this place. *Jack* told him at his maſter's ſhop one 'day, that he muſt get a knife; the priſoner ſaid his maſter 'had got knives enough, and he could get one.

3. 'Knows no more; never was at *Hughſon*'s afterwards; '*Hughſon* aſked him to ſtay ſupper there, and eat a mouth- 'ful; *York* aſked for bread and butter and cheeſe; *Hughſon* 'fetched him ſome. He kept out of the way ever afterwards.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Cato* (Moore's) confeſſion, § 2, 6. 22*d June.*
*London* (Marſchalk's) confeſſion, § 6. 20*th June.*

NUMB. IV.

*Cæſar* (Horſefield's) ſaid, 'that Rooſevelt's *Quack*, about 'new-year, of a working day, met him in the meal-market, 'and told him he muſt go with him to ſome company on 'the north river: He went there and drank, and *Quack* 'aſked him to ſtay ſupper; he conſented; they ſupped; had 'a gooſe and ſome mutton; the ſupper on the table before 'they went there. *Albany* and *Cæſar*, Vaarck's, were there.

Being aſked ſeveral queſtions about this meeting, and not anſwering ſo as to be believed, nor making out any thing, he ſeemed very much concerned, and ſaid, 'he underſtood 'that *Quack* (Rooſevelt's) had uſed his name at the fire, 'and therefore thought he ſhould be condemned; but de- 'clared that what he had before ſaid, he did becauſe he was 'afraid of his life, and that he ſhould die if he did not ſay 'ſomething; but could not tell what to ſay, not knowing 'any thing at all of the plot.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Quack*'s confeſſion at the ſtake, § 4. 30*th May.*
*Cambridge*'s confeſſion, 30*th June.*

*Confeſſion*

*Confeſſion of* Emanuel, *a Spaniſh negro, belonging to* Thomas Wendover, *taken by a private hand.*

1. HE ſaid, 'That about new-year laſt he went to walk behind the engliſh church by the water-ſide, on a 'ſunday evening, when the drum was beating at the fort, 'and there he met with Rutgers's *Quaſh* and another negro; 'that they aſked him to go to *Hughſon*'s; that he did go, 'and ſaw a great number of negroes there; among which 'were *Wan* belonging to capt. *Sarly*, *Wan* whoſe maſter is 'dead, who was a ſail-maker *, that he talks engliſh very 'well.

2. 'That *Hughſon* aſked *Quaſh*, whoſe negro he, the priſoner, was? *Quaſh* told him, *Wendover*'s; that *Hughſon* 'aſked, whether he was a good boy? *Quaſh* anſwered, yes; 'that the negroes were all at ſupper at a long table; that he 'ſaw *Hughſon* amongſt them, but no woman; that capt. 'Marſhall's *Ben* ſat at the corner of the table, which was 'very long, and *Hughſon* at the other end, with a book by 'him: That he did not go into the room, but only looked 'in at the door; and that the room was ſo full that ſeveral 'of the negroes ſtood.

3. 'That *Quaſh* told the priſoner to come in and eat; 'that *Hughſon* ſaid, don't you ſee the room is too full already, let him ſtay there. The priſoner ſaw Comfort's *Jack* and *Cook* there. That *Quaſh* brought him punch, and ſome 'bread and ſalt pork; that he eat and drank what *Quaſh* 'gave him.

4. 'That he ſaw another room, but the door was ſhut, 'and does not know whether there was any body in the room.

5. 'That the priſoner told *Quaſh*, he muſt go home and 'give victuals to the cow; *Quaſh* ſaid, ſtay a little; that he 'Quaſh came out to the door to him, and told him, the ne'groes were going to riſe and cut the white peoples throats 'with knives; that when he had done his buſineſs at home, 'he muſt come back, and then *Quaſh* was to tell him a 'great deal, and to give him a knife; and that he muſt be 'ſure to tell no body of it.

6. 'That the priſoner agreed to kill the white people, 'and not to diſcover; but told him he muſt go home, and 'he would come back directly.

7. 'That his maſter when he came home would not let 'him go out again.

* Peter Van Rantz's.

8. 'That he went there early the next morning, [illegible] doors being ſhut, he returned home; and that he never went there afterwards.

9. 'That he has met *Quaſh* in the ſtreet ſeveral times afterwards, who aſked him the reaſon why he did not come there; he told him his maſter would not let him go; *Quaſh* told him, he muſt come; for they wanted him very much; for all the negroes he ſaw there, had reſolved to kill the white people; and next time he went there he would tell him all.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Baſtian*'s examination, N° I. § 10. 11*th* June.

This day the following negroes were apprehended and committed, *viz. John*, Widow Van Rant's; *Lewis*, Mr. Adoniah Schuyler's; *Diego*, Van Durſen's; *Titus*, Phoenix's; *Scotland*, Marſton's; *Braveboy*, Kierſtede's; *Frank*, Mr. Philipſe's.

## SUNDAY, 28*th* JUNE.

*Confeſſion of* Cajoe, *alias* Africa, (GOMEZ's,)
*By a private hand.*

1. 'HE ſaid, That about Auguſt laſt he went to the houſe of *———in company with three negroes 'belonging to capt. *Wells*; that *Jeffery* (capt. Brown's) and 'James and *Frank*, three country negroes, were there 'when they went in; that *Ben* (capt. Marſhall's) and his 'wife came there after him; that *Ben* ſaid, when he firſt 'came in, how d'ye do, how d'ye do, my friends? I hope 'you'll all be my men in a ſhort time.

2. 'That they ſat down and drank together ſome time, 'after which *Ben* told him, that he had ſome buſineſs to 'do down by the water-ſide, and when he went out, ſaid, 'Farewel brothers. This is all he remembers to have 'heard that time; but took no notice of what *Ben* ſaid, 'as to being his men, not knowing what he meant.

3. 'The ſaturday after new-year, Mr. Gomez's *Cuffee* 'aſked him to go down to the north river ſide, to a houſe 'there where there were negroes dancing and fiddling; that 'accordingly he went with *Cuffee* into *Hughſon*'s; and *Cuffee* 'called to *Hughſon*, and bid him make a mug of punch; 'that *Hughſon* brought it, and had, as the priſoner ſays, 'put above two thirds of ſtrong rum, and made it ſo ſweet, 'that he did not immediately feel the ſtrength of it.

* The wife of Jeffery lived there.

4. 'That

4. 'That Mr. Roosevelt's Quack, Rutger's Quack, Ve-
'rick's Caesar, Auboyneau's Prince, and Philipse's Caesar
'came there while they were drinking; they all went up
'stairs (where there were negroes dancing) except the pri-
'soner and *Caesar*, who sat drinking their punch.

5. 'That he does not know who was there, except those
'he saw go up.

6. 'That *Hughson* when they had drank their liquor,
'asked the prisoner, if he would stand his friend; he said
'what to do? Says *Hughson*, you must first swear, that you
'will not discover what I am going to tell you: says the
'prisoner, must I swear to a thing that I do not know
'what it is? Said *Hughson*, come drink about: after he had
'drank, then *Hughson* again told him, he must swear;
'that if he did not, he should not go out of the house again;
'*Caesar* told him he must swear; but that if he had no mind
'to do it, that he must tell no body any thing about it: the
'prisoner damned his soul to eternity if he ever told any bo-
'dy living; and *Hughson* read something in a book, which
'he does not remember, but believes it was an oath; after
'which he kissed the book; then *Hughson* told the prisoner
'he need not be afraid; that he had got a great many
'hands, and would get a great many more; and that the
'prisoner should bring as many there as he could; that they
'were to rise, and burn the houses and kill the white peo-
'ple; and told him he must get his master's small arms,
'and bring them there; and that he might set his master's
'house on fire, and kill any body he could meet with, ma-
'ster first.

7. 'That he agreed to whatever they said, in order to
'get away from them.

8. 'After which *Hughson* brought *Ben*, and drank good
'success to their undertaking; which health *Caesar* and he
'drank: after which the prisoner bad them good night,
'and went away sorry for what he had done.—That he ne-
'ver went there afterwards.

9. '*Hughson* told him the fort was to be burnt first, some
'time in the spring, and when he saw that every one must
'prepare.

10. 'That about a week after the fort was burnt, he
'was going to the post-house, and met with *Ben* (capt.
'Marshall's) by his master's door; that *Ben* told him, he
'must see if his master had any swords, or guns, or pistols;
'the prisoner asked him for what? *Ben* said, you see the

'fort is burnt already, it is now time for every
'pare: the prisoner said, do not be a fool to un
'a thing, for I will have no hand in it; if you
'found out, do not call my name, for I will have
'to do with you.

11. 'That nothing further was said; and no body
'spoke to him after that time.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Brash's* confession, § 5. *pag.* 195.

*Confession of* Tom, *Mr.* R. LIVINGSTON's *negro.*

*Before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. I.

1. 'HE said, That *Lewis*, a negro living with *Mr. Man**, *Venture*, Tiebout's; *Gosport*, belonging to *Bound* the Quaker; *Jack*, Abrahamse's, Wall-street, *Fortune*, capt. Walton's; *Hanover*, Mr. Henry Cruger's, and himself, were at *Hughson's* last summer, where *Hughson* talked to them of the plot; he told them they must kill the white people, and steal their goods and bring them to his house, and they must kill their masters and mistresses; which they all agreed to and were sworn, and put hands on book to perform it, and keep all secret; they were not so much as to tell a cat or a dog.

2. '*Hughson* told them, they were to begin to kill about two months after new-year; but they were to come to him first for orders.

3. 'That *Prince*, Kortrecht's negro, told him the day '*Philipse*'s storehouse was burnt (as they were screening wheat) that he had been at *Hughson's*, and was sworn of the plot.

4. 'That *Adam* (Murray's) told him, he had been sworn at *Hughson's*.

*See this negro's confession* 27*th* June, *before Mr.* Nicholls *and Mr.* Lodge. N° XII.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Brash's* confession, § 5. *pag.* 195.

*Dick* (Ten Eyck's) confession, 30*th* June.

This day the following negroes were apprehended and committed; *Venture*, Tiebout's; *Jack*, Abrahamse's; *Fortune*, capt. Walton's; *Jack*, Roerback's.

* Mr. Adoniah Schuyler's.

Supreme

Supreme Court.

MONDAY, 29th JUNE.

PRESENT,

*The Second and third Justices.*

The KING, *against*

Jack, DORLAND'S
Will, HARDENBERG'S } *negroes.*

JOHN *Dorland* and *Johannes Hardenbergh* entered into recognizance for the appearance of *Jack* and *Will*, two negroes, at the next court of oyer and terminer and general goal delivery for Queen's county, thereon ordered, that the sheriff of Queen's county do discharge out of his custody the said negroes *.

His Majesty's ORDINANCE for the further enlarging the present term until saturday the 25th day of July next, published.

Court adjourned to ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

*Confession of* Pedro (DR PEYSTER'S *negro*,)
*Before* John Schultz.

HE *said*, 'That last fall he went out one sunday morning with Mrs. *Carpenter*'s negro *Albany*; that as they 'went along the Broad-way, they met with Mr. Slyedall's '*Jack*, who was going to *Comfort*'s for tea-water; that at 'the market near Mr. *De Lancey*'s house they met two other 'negroes; and that *Albany* asked them all to go down to '*Hughson*'s and drink with them: that they first drank 'cyder, then raw drams: that *Hughson* sat down and drank 'with them; that after their liquor was all out, *Hughson* 'called *Albany* aside; when *Albany* returned, he asked *Pe-* '*dro*, *Jack*, *Kid* and *Cæsar*† if they would consent to become 'their own masters? they all answered, Yes: then he 'told them they must help burn the town, and kill the 'white people, which they consented to readily, having all 'drank pretty much. *Albany* told them they must swear 'to be true to one another, and not to discover any thing: 'that *Albany* had a little book on which they swore: that 'their oath was, they wished the thunder might split them 'in pieces on the spot where they first spoke of it. *Hugh-* '*son* was then in the room when they swore, and afterwards

* See Deposition of Stephen Evan, page 184.
† Dr. Henderson's.

'told them, that when the time came that they should be
'wanted, he would take care that they should be sent for.

2. 'That *Kid* told *Hughson* his master had arms enough,
'and that he would get some of them; and that he would
'kill his master and mistress and fire the house; that after
'that he would go into the street, and help kill the people
'there. *Cæsar* was to act in the same manner.

3. '*Jack* said his master was too cross, and that he would
'kill him.

4. '*Pedro* said, he did tell *Jack* (Sleydall's) to set Mr.
'*Murray*'s house on fire, which he promised to do, but
'afterwards fired the hay-stack.

5. 'That the reason why they provided knives and cut-
'lasses, was, that the report of a gun would immediately
'alarm the people, and they thought they might kill ma-
'ny before they were found out.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Jack*, Sleydall's confession, § 1. pa. 143.
*Adam*'s confession, § 19. pa. 209.

*Confession of* Jeffery *(capt.* Browne's*) and* Mars *(*Benson's*)*
*negroes,*
*Before the Grand Jury.*

1. JEFFERY said, 'That about Christmas last he went
for tea-water, and called for a dram at *Hughson*'s
'when *Hughson* desired him to swear he would do what he
'desired him; but at that time he would not.

2. 'Some days afterwards * he went there again, and
'at length was persuaded by *Hughson*, to swear to do what
'he asked him, and to keep it secret, and he did swear;
'and upon it *Hughson* told him he was to take the town,
'and told him of negroes concerned; and that they were
'to meet the first day of April, viz. to kill the people and
'take the town.

3. 'Persons there were, *Cæsar*, Vaarck's; *Prince*, Au-
'boyneau's, and *Albany*, and were to be concerned.

4. 'That *Holt*'s negro told him his master was to be
'concerned.

Mr. BENSON's *Mars* said, 'that he heard Gomez's
'*Cuffee* and Peck's *Cæsar* say, that *Jeffery* above was con-
'cerned.

* 24th January.

Con-

*Confession of* Scotland, *Mr.* MARSTON's *negro, before one of the judges.*

1. HE *said*, 'That a little before Christmas last he met with *Ben* Marshall's and he asked him to take a walk; 'and he carried him down to *Hughson*'s, where they drank 'punch: *Hughson* fetched water and rum, and sugar was 'upon the table, *Ben* made the punch: *Ben* asked him 'whether he would do as they were going to do? He asked him what that was? *Ben* answered, they were going to 'rise (meaning the negroes) and to kill the white people; 'he, *Scotland*, replied, that the white people were too strong 'for them, they could not do it: so they drank out their 'punch, and nothing further passed between them at that 'time. *Hughson* went in and out of the room all the time 'he, *Scotland*, and *Ben* were there; but whether he attended 'to, or heard their discourse, he cannot say. This was of 'a sunday afternoon, church out, and no other negro 'there at *Hughson*'s as he saw.

2. 'The sunday after this, *Ben* and he went again to '*Hughson*'s, and drank punch there; *Hughson* was at home; 'and after *Ben* had talked of the plot to him, and the liquor 'had made him drunk, he consented to join in it, that is 'to say, to help burn the houses, and fight the white people; *Hughson* brought the book in order to swear him, 'and *Ben* told him he must put his hand on the book; he 'asked *Ben*, how far he must swear? *Ben* said, he must 'wish that the first thunder that came might split him to 'pieces if he told him any thing of it, or did not stand to 'his word; and he put his hand on the book, and took the 'said oath; and then they went away, and he never went 'there again; nor had he ever any more discourse with '*Ben* about it.'

This day the following negroes were apprehended and committed, *viz.* *Gesport*, Bound's; *Cæsar*, Col. Moore's; *Hanover*, Mr. Cruger's; *Tony* or *Tonio*, Mr. Courtlandt's; *Hereford*, Myers Cohen's; *Kid*, Mr. C. Van Horne's; *Cæsar*, Dr. Henderson's.

Supreme Court.

TUESDAY, 30th JUNE.

PRESENT,

*The ſecond Juſtice.*

Court opened and adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

*Confeſſion of* Braveboy (*Mrs.* KIERSTEDE'S) *Before one of the Judges.*

1. HE ſaid, 'That ſome time laſt ſummer, Captain 'Albany came to his miſtreſs's houſe to buy ſlaves, 'and called him into the yard, ſaying he wanted to ſpeak 'with him; and then aſked him whether he would join 'them? Saying, they were going to have a ſmall fight, and 'if he would be on their ſide, he ſhould not loſe by it; 'and that they would have him becauſe he was a ſailor, 'and he muſt then be ſworn to join with them: and he 'ſwore that he wiſhed the devil might fetch him away if 'he did not join with them, and keep all ſecret. Then 'Albany told him, he would help him to a gun to kill his 'maſter; at which he was ſo ſtruck, that he did not know 'whether he ſtood upon his head or his heels, and ſaid, in 'the name of God, if you are going upon ſuch buſineſs, 'you may do it by yourſelves; for he would have no con-'cern in it: upon which *Albany* made him promiſe to keep 'ſecret what he had ſaid to him, and not to tell it to black 'or white.

2. 'That *Albany* had told him at the ſame time, that '* *Prince*, *Cuffee* and *Cæſar* were concerned in this deſign.

3. 'That about a week after *Albany* had ſpoke to him 'as above, *Prince* carried him to *Hughſon*'s of a ſunday 'afternoon in church time; *Hughſon* was at home, and in 'company with *Cæſar* (Vaarck's) *Cuffee* (Philipſe's) and '*Albany*: *Hughſon* at coming in gave him a dram, and then 'went out of the room and brought in a book, and aſked 'him to ſwear upon it; but he refuſed to ſwear, telling '*Hughſon*, that he had already been ſworn by *Albany*, and 'upon that haſted away, *Hughſon* calling him back, and 'charging him to keep all ſecret, and ſaid if he did not, he 'would fare the worſe for it, but he did not return; nor 'had ever been there ſince, or talked to any one about it.

* Prince (Auboyneau's) Cuffee (Philipſe's) Cæſar (Vaarck's).

4. 'Brave-

'Hughson's account of the frolick at the Bowry *.

'That he was one of three negro's (the negro man and his 'wife *Isabella* present) now house between Mr. *Rogers*'s 'land and *Greenwich* land:

Free negroes.

*Men.*

*Robin*, Mrs. *Beckley*'s,
*Bustar*, Mr. *Richard*'s, *Quack*'s wife's,
*Fortune*, *Cruger*'s, *Maria*,
Both Mr. *Haines*'s Slaves, *Sarah*, } Three free negroes,
one a mulatto the other a negro. and *Hannah*,
*Othello*, *Lucretia*, Mr. *Franks*'s,
*Quack*, *Walter*'s,
*Curacoa Dick*, who played on *Beeseboy*'s fiddle.

Mr. Henry Cruger's *Neptune* came there late about eleven at night, but the watches turned him away.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Sarah*, (Burk's) examination and confession, N°. II. p. 99.
*Jack*, (Murray's) examination and confession, § 5. p. 201.
*Adam*'s examination and confession, N°. I. § 19. p. 209.

*Confession of* Windsor (Samuel Myers Cohen's *negro*,)
*Taken by* John Schultz.

1. HE *said*, 'That about two years ago, when the corn was ripe, he had been of an errand to *Greenwich*, 'in company with a negro belonging to *Alexander Allair*, 'who is since dead; that they, when they came back, 'went into *Hughson*'s, and the other negro called for rum; 'that *Hughson* brought a whole case-bottle full, and told 'them they might drink as much as they pleased: *Windsor* 'offered *Hughson* three pence; but he told him, he would 'take no money, that he was welcome: *Allair*'s negro told '*Hughson*, this is the man I promised you, he is a good 'marksman: that *Hughson* liked him very well, and got up 'and took a book off a shelf and laid down on the table 'by him; that he (the prisoner) put both his hands on it; 'that *Hughson* told him, the negroes were to rise and set 'the town on fire, and kill the white people; that he must 'set his master's house on fire, and kill his master and mi-'stress before he came out; which the prisoner refused, say-'ing he could not do it; that he did not care to see fire to 'any house, but would help them to fight.

* Mentioned by Mr. Murray's Adam, in his confession.

2. 'Hughſon told him, it is to be done in the ſpring; that 'Mr. Allair's negro ſhould tell him the time; and that 'he would come to him, he would find him a gun and 'ſword, that he muſt ſwear to ſecrecy, which he did by 'force; that Hughſon put a book upon his breaſt, and ſome 'ſome words which he has forgot.

3. 'That as they came back, the negro of Mr. Allair's 'told him, that Mr. Valet's *Tom*, and Mr. Nicholas Bay-'ard's *Phaeton*, formerly belonging to Mr. Valet, Mr. Jay's 'Braſh, Mr. Pintard's *Ceſar*, Mr. Auboyneaud's *Quaco*, 'Mr. Philipſe's *Cuffee* and Mr. Vanrack's *Ceſar*, were all 'ſworn, and belonging to one company.

4. 'That he has been at Hughſon's three or four times 'alone to drink, and once with Mr. Allair's negro, which 'was the firſt time when he was ſworn.

*The Confeſſions of the ſeven negroes following, taken by Mr.* Nicholls *and Mr.* Lodge.

NUMB. I.

*Worceſter* (Varian's) ſaid, 'That in Chriſtmas holidays 'Pompey (Leffert's) carried him to *Hughſon's*, where were 'many negroes at ſupper; that they had punch, &c. and 'after ſupper, *Hughſon*, his wife and daughter, ſwore to a 'plot againſt the white people; and that he, (*Hughſon*) ſwore 'moſt or all of the negroes then preſent, among whom 'the priſoner was ſworn; that ſome ſwore by one thing, and 'ſome by another. There were preſent the following ne-'groes, viz. *Pompey*, Leffert's; *London*, Kelly's, *Tickle* 'and *Albany*, Carpenter's, and *Baſtian*.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Quack*'s confeſſion at the ſtake, § 4. pa. 91.

*Tickle*'s confeſſion, § 4. pa. 142.

NUMB. II.

*Cambridge* (Codweis's) ſaid, 'That on Chriſtmas ſun-'day evening *Cajoe* (Baker's) carried him to *Hughſon's*, who 'ſwore them both in the plot in the preſence of a white 'girl. That he, *Cambridge*, afterwards aſked *Ceſar* and 'Guy, Horſefield's, about it, who both confeſſed they had 'been ſworn at *Hughſon's*; and told him, when the work 'was going forward at *York*, they would give the priſoner 'notice, and take him over with them in a canoe to aſſiſt 'them *; and *Cajoe* told them, they were to kill ſuch of 'the negroes as would not aſſiſt them. Evi-

* The maſters of theſe two negroes were butchers who lived over the water on Long-Iſland, oppoſite to this city.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Quack*'s confession at the stake, *pag.* 99.

NUMB. III.

*Pompey* (Bayard's) saith, 'That Mr. De Lancey's *Pompey* came to his master's, to fetch him to Mrs. *De Lancey*'s lying-in; that he and *Pompey* got gaming together, and then *Pompey* told him of the plot, and asked his consent to be one among them; and that he consented to it. That afterwards he went to Mr. *Peter de Lancey*'s, where he saw the said *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, Pintard's, *Cato*, Moore's, and a *Spanish* negro of capt. Cunningham's.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Pompey* (De Lancey's) confession, § 9. *pa.* 178.

NUMB. IV.

*Toby* (Widow Breasted's) said, 'That Christmas holidays *Cook*, Comfort's, carried him to *Hughson*'s, where he saw *Ben*, Mr. Jays; *Ben*, capt. Marshall's, and some others, who all supped there: that he saw *Hughson*, his wife, *&c.* there. That *Ben*, Jay's, prevailed on him to kiss the book; that he accordingly did kiss it; that thereupon *Ben* said, he was his man, and should stand to him, but did not tell him for what; but seeing him afterwards, he told him, he had swore to fight the white people, and stand by him: that the prisoner promised, and *Ben* bid him bring a pistol to Mr. *Jay*'s garden, and told him that they had bought some arms already, and by and they would rise. The negroes then present [besides] were *Cook*, Comfort's; *Cato*, Cowley's; *Cuffee*, Philipse's; *Quack*, Roosevelt's.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Brush*'s confession, § 4. *pag.* 195.

NUMB. V.

*Will* (Ten Eyck's) said, 'That *Albany* carried him to *Hughson*'s; that *Albany* there talked of the number of *Cuba* men gone off, and said, he believed an hundred and fifty men might take this city; and after some discourse, told him of the plot, and swore him by the thunder and lightning to join in the plot, and burn his master's house: That *Cæsar* had given *Hughson* money to buy arms and powder to furnish the negroes with, and to appoint the time for the enterprize. The negroes then present were *Albany*, *Bastian*, and *Jonneau*, Vaarck's.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Sarah*, Burk's, examination, N° II. *pag.* 99.

*Cæsar*, Pintard's, confession, § 4. *pag.* 170.

*Tickles* confession, § 4. pag.
*Jemmey's* confession, pag.

NUMB. VI.

*Titus* (Phœnix's) said, 'That going one day for wood to
'Mr. Rutgers's, *Quash* (Rutgers's) swore him to burn his
'master's house, and kill his master and mistress; that he
'agreed to burn the house, but refused to kill the master
'and mistress.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Prince*, Gab. Cronke's, confession, § 3, 5. pag.

NUMB. VII.

*Dick* (Ten Eyck's) said, 'That *Albany*, Carpenter's,
'carried him to *Hughson's*, where he was sworn into the
'plot. That *Toby*, Wendover's, afterwards informed him of
'the plot, and asked him to go to *Hughson's* house; but he
'refused, having been there before. That *Frank*, Ryker's,
'also told him of the same, and asked him to be engaged.
'That the negroes then present were *Toby*, Wendover's;
'*Tom*, Livingston's; *Jack*, Sleydall's; *Frank*, Ryker's; *Al-*
'*bany*, Carpenter's; *London*, Wyncoop's.

Upon the several examinations taken this day, the follow-
ing negroes were committed this evening,

*Tom*, Valet's, *Tom*, Wendover's,
*Phaeton*, Bayard's, *Frank*, Ryker's.
*Cajoe*, Baker's,

*Minutes of* Othello's *examination and confession, taken before one of the Judges the* 29*th and* 30*th* June.

29*th June.*

1. HE said, 'That at a meeting of several negroes at
*Coentjes* market about this time twelvemonth, pre-
'sent, *Albany*, *Cuffee*, Philipse's; *Prince*, Auboyneau's; *Ad-*
'*dam*, and *Pompey*, De Lancey's; *Adam* and *Albany* men-
'tioned the plot to him, and he agreed to join to burn and
'kill, &c. and swore.

*Quash*, Rutgers's } concerned.
*Cato*, Cowley's }

*Hanover*, belonging to Mr. *John Cruger*, from *Curaçoa*, *Albany* said he was concerned.

2. 'Othello was at a feast at *Hughson's* with a parcel of ne-
'groes, when *North* the constable came and drove them a-
'way; present then, *Albany*, *Quamino*, Pemberton's, and
'many others.

3. *Othello* being asked, why he so positively denied on Sa-
turday, that he knew any thing about the plot; though he

was warned of the proclamation, and that the time therein limited for the confederates to come in and make voluntary confeſſion and diſcovery, would expire as to-morrow; and notwithſtanding he was told, that there was full and clear evidence againſt him, why he did not take the recorder's advice, and confeſs then what he had done now? He anſwered with a ſmile; 'why, Sir, I was but juſt then come to 'town *.

30th *June*.

4. 'Othello was at a ſmellick in the Bowry laſt ſummer, at 'which were preſent †.

*Quark*, Walter's.
*Braveboy*,
*Curracoa Dick*,
*Anſcram*, Mulatto } *Mr.* Haines's.
*Pompey*,
*Tom*, Ben. Moore's.
*A white young man* who married a Mulatto girl; *Braveboy* can tell beſt.
*A free negro*, lives at Kips's bay; *Braveboy* knows his name.
*Mr.* Richard's *Cato*.
*Mr.* Searles's *Pompey*. *Mrs.* Jenny's.
*Mr.* Faviere's *Cajoe*.

## Supreme Court.

### *WEDNESDAY*, 1ſt JULY.

### PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

THE five Spaniſh negroes convicted of the conſpiracy, on the ſeventeenth of *June* laſt, were this day called up to judgment, *viz.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Antonio, | *Mr.* De Lancey's. |
| Antonio, | Mesnard's. |
| Pablo, | Becker's. |
| Juan *or* Wan, | Sarly's. |
| Auguſtine, | M'Mullen's. |

And having nothing to offer in arreſt, but proteſtations of their innocence, Mr. *Gomez* ‡ was directed to interpret what the court delivered.

* i. e. He was willing to ſpy the land firſt, to ſee how it lay, to inform himſelf how matters ſtood, what had been doing, and to conſider whether there could be room for his eſcape.

† See Adam's confeſſion, § 21, 22, 23. pag. 204.
Braveboy's confeſſion, § 4. pag. 230.

‡ He had been interpreter upon the trial.

Then

Then the third Juſtice proceeded as follows: *Mr.* Gomez, *pray tell the priſoners at the bar, what they obſerved,*

1ſt. 'THAT they were taken with ſome Spaniſh [illegible] an *Engliſh* privateer; were brought into this 'port, and condemned as lawful prize, being ſuppoſed to 'be ſlaves belonging to the ſubjects of the King of Spain; 'and nothing appeared to the court of admiralty (which is 'the court, to whoſe juriſdiction concerning things of this 'nature it does properly belong) to ſhew that they were free-'men; and they having made no pretence or claim in that 'court to be ſuch, they were therefore adjudged to be ſlaves.

2*dly*. 'That the court of admiralty having ſo adjudged 'them to be ſlaves, they had been ſeverally ſold and diſpoſ-'ed of; by which means they were diſcharged from confine-'ment in priſon; and thereby have had the opportunity of 'caballing with other wicked, miſchievous and evil diſpoſ-'ed perſons, as well white men as ſlaves, and have conſpir-'rated themſelves with them, in a moſt diabolical conſpira-'cy, to lay this city in aſhes, and to murder and deſtroy all 'the inhabitants; whereas had they appeared to have been 'freemen, they would have been prevented this opportuni-'ty of venting and gratifying the rancour of their hearts, by 'being cloſely confined as priſoners of war.

3*dly*. 'If notwithſtanding they were freemen, they ought 'in all reaſon to have waited the event of the war, and ſuf-'fered patiently under their misfortune; and when peace 'ſhould have been concluded, they might have made the 'truth of their pretenſions appear, and then juſtice would 'have been done them.

'But now as they are found *guilty* of this moſt horrid and 'villainous conſpiracy, by the laws of our land, nothing re-'mains but to pronounce ſentence of death againſt them.

Accordingly they were ſentenced to be hanged.

The KING,
*againſt*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Prince, | DUANE's, | *Negroes.* |
| Tony, | LATHAM's, | |
| Cato, | SHURMUR's, | |
| York, | MARSCHALK's, | |
| Harry, | KIPP's, | |

The priſoners having been convicted of the conſpiracy, were brought to the bar, and having nothing to offer in arreſt of judgment, the court paſſed ſentence on them to be hanged: And

*Order-*

*Ordered*, their execution to be on *friday* the third inſtant; and that the body of *York* ſhould be afterwards hung in chains on the ſame gibbet with *John Hughſon*.

The KING,
*againſt*
Sarah Hughſon.

This criminal continuing indecible, it was ordered, ſhe ſhould be executed, according to her ſentence, on wedneſday the eighth inſtant.

The KING,
*againſt*
Cato, BENSON's,
Pompey, S. BAYARD's, } *Negroes.*

Theſe priſoners having deſired leave of the court to withdraw their plea of *not guilty*, and to plead *guilty*; it was ordered accordingly; and they pleaded *guilty*, and ſubmitted to the mercy of the court.

The KING,
*againſt*
Jeffery, BOUND's,
Toby, BREASTED's,
Fortune, CLARKSON's,
Warwick, HUNT's, } *Negroes.*
Windſor, MYERS COHEN's,
Billy, ELLISON's,

The priſoners were brought to the bar and arraigned on an indictment for the conſpiracy; and *Jeffery*, *Toby*, *Warwick* and *Windſor*, pleaded *guilty*, and *Fortune* and *Billy*, *not guilty*.

The KING,
*againſt*
Jack, MURRAY's,
Cajoe, GOMEZ's,
Tom, HYER's,
Lewis, SCHUYLER's,
Venture, TIEBOUT's, } *Negroes.*
Jaſper, BOUND's,
Jack, ABRAHAMSE's,
Fortune, WALTON's,

The priſoners were arraigned on an indictment for the conſpiracy; and *Tom*, *Venture*, *Jaſper* and *Fortune*, pleaded *not guilty*; and the two *Jacks*, *Cajoe* and *Lewis*, pleaded *guilty*, and ſubmitted to the mercy of the court.

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

The

*The two following negro confessions were taken before Mr. Recorder, Mr. Nicholls and Mr. Justice*

NUMB. I.

*Warwick* (Hunt's) said, 'That *London*, Wyncoop's negro, went with him to *Hughson*'s about two years ago; 'that *Hughson* swore him, in the presence of his master, to kill his master and mistress; that he ordered this negro to steal what money he could and bring it to him; 'arms and powder; that he, *Hughson*, had three barrels of powder, but wanted more: That he [*Warwick*] was there [at *Hughson*'s] last Christmas, at the great supper, but did not see all the negroes that were there; he being in the cellar, and in liquor.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Sarah*, Burk's, examination, N° II. § 1.

*London*, Wyncoop's, confession, § 1.

NUMB. II.

*Lewis* (Mr. Ad. Schuyler's) said, 'That on a Saturday 'afternoon, Mr. Roosevelt's *Quack* and Rutgers's *Cæsar*, 'carried him to *Hughson*'s; that they drank punch there; 'that he heard nothing of the plot at that time; but *Quack* 'engaged him to come to him the next day, which he did, 'at Mr. *Rutgers*'s brewhouse, where *Quack* [was to] 'fire his master's house, and kill his master and mistress: 'That he afterwards set fire to some heading; but it being 'green, would not take fire. Knows of no others con- 'cerned.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Tom* (Livingston's) confession, N° I. *pag.* 219.

II. *pag.* 226.

*Confession of* Sam, *negro of* col. Frederick Cortlandt,

*Before one of the Judges.*

1. HE said, 'That some time last fall, being at the house of *John Hughson*, he asked the examinant, 'whether he would be concerned with him to burn the town, 'and kill the white people? That the examinant consented: 'That thereupon he gave the examinant a dram, and told 'him, he expected he would be as good as his word; he 'answered yes.

2. 'That about a fortnight after he met with *Pampey* (Mr. 'P. De Lancey's negro) and carried him to *Hughson*'s; and 'when they were there, they and *Hughson* drank a mug of 'punch; after which *Hughson* asked *Pampey*, whether he 'would consent to stand on his side against the white peo- 'ple, &c.

the &c. whereby confessing to the Knowledge of the said *Pompey*, in presence of the examinant and *Pompey*'s wife, to be true? That the examinant told *Pompey*, he had dreamt a dream to that effect, which was as good as swearing.

3. That the examinant never spoke to any other negro about the plot; neither any other negro at any time spoke to him about it.

Further deponing saith not.

*Pompey* (*De Lancey*'s Negro) Examination, § 1, 6. pag. 177.

## DEPOSITION.

NUMB. I.

JOHN SCHULTZ made oath, 'That whereas by the Judge's orders he took a confession in writing from the mouth of *Pedro*, belonging to *Pierre De Peyster*, whereby he accused two negroes, the one belonging to *Cornelius Van Horn*, called *Kid*, the other to Dr. *Huddlestone*, called *Cæsar*; that they, *Kid* and *Cæsar*, with some other negroes and him the said *Pedro*, were sworn at *Hughson's*, and there agreed to set fire to houses, and destroy the people inhabiting this city: And whereas the said *Pedro* did, on the 30th of *June* 1741, acknowledge voluntarily to the said *John Schultz*, *Phoenix Darrow* being present, and likewise in the evening of the same day, *John Schultz*, *Pierre De Peyster* and *Nicholas Courtlandt* being present, That the words which he spoke relating to himself and the others which he had said were present and all sworn at *Hughson's*, *viz. Kid*, *Cæsar*, &c. was not true; and that *Will*, a negro belonging to one *Ward*, a watch-maker, being in the same prison with him, had told him, that he understood these affairs very well, and that unless he the said *Pedro* did confess and bring in two or three, he would be either hanged or burnt, and did likewise name the aforesaid negroes as proper ones to be accused; and he the said *Pedro* did say, that *Will* was the cause of his making that false confession; which he can prove by four negroes which are in the same prison with him.

## DEPOSITION.

NUMB. II.

JOHN SCHULTZ made oath, 'That a negro belonging to *Henry Brasted*, called *Jack*, did, after he had made confession, send for him to the prison, and told him, he had recollected two more negroes, *viz. Hereford* belonging to *Samuel Myers Cohen*, and *Tonio* belonging to

[a] Compare Pompey's confession with this, pag. 173.

coun-

counsellor *Courtland*; which was allowed
ed by reader of the Judges, for being concerned
felony. And whereas it was desired by the
said *Hereford*, that he should be examined
nerwards was by the said *Todd Scales* and
*Cass*, and did declare his innocence of what he
ed with; and the said *Hereford* being a
give the aforesaid *Scales* a suspicion that he
ed wrongfully; for which reason he the said
did again go to the prison, and
*caster Green* and *Katherine Jones* did ask the
*Jack*, whether the said *Hereford* had
cerned; that he should take care not to accuse
unjustly; and if he had so done, to declare it,
which the said *Jack* made answer, that he had
about *Hereford*, and that he was innocent as
knew; and repeated before *Lancaster Green*
said when he accused them.

Supreme Court.

THURSDAY, 2d JULY,

PRESENT,

*The honourable* JAMES DE LANCEY, *Esq; Chief Justice.*

*The second and third Justices.*

The KING *against* Jamaica, *a negro.*

UPON the former favourable circumstances concerning this criminal, the court ordered his execution be further respited for fourteen days.

The KING *against* Will. WARD, *negro.*

THIS negro being set to the bar to receive judgment, and there having been credible information, that this criminal has within a few years past, been concerned in two conspiracies in the *West-Indies*, the first at *St. John's*, the last at *Antigua* in the year 1736, where (as 'twas said) he became an evidence, and from thence was shipped to this city, from hence to *Providence*, but returned hither again, and was here sold: Wherefore it was thought high time to put it out of his power to do any further mischief; and having pleaded guilty upon his arraignment as before, the court sentenced him to be burnt at a stake, on Saturday the fourth instant.

The

The court adjourned to ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

*The eight following negro confeſſions were taken this day by Mr. Nicholls and Mr. Lodge.*

NUMB. I.

*SCIPIO* (Bound's) *ſaid*, 'That laſt Chriſtmas holidays *Jack* (Comfort's) carried him to *Hughſon*'s, where 'there were a great number of negroes, near thirty; that 'they all ſupped there, and after ſupper *Hughſon* got a bible, 'and told them there was a plot going forward againſt the 'white people of the town; that the *French* and *Spaniards* 'were expected, and then would be a fair opportunity; that 'thoſe that would ſwear to him to be of his ſide, ſhould 'be his men; that they might be all free men: That he '[*Hughſon*] ſwore himſelf, his wife and daughter, and afterwards ſwore ſeveral of the negroes: That he heard '*Spaniſh* talked among the negroes, but knows not what 'negroes they were: That he ſwore them all to ſecrecy, 'and ſaid he would provide arms for all of them; that he, '*Scipio*, was to kill his maſter and miſtreſs. That he was 'afterwards at *Comfort*'s, and ſaw *Jack* there ſharpening 'knives, which he ſaid were to be uſed to kill the white 'people: That ſeveral negroes were there; and afterwards '*Jack* told him, there was to be a general feaſt at *Hughſon*'s. 'That when he ſupped at *Hughſon*'s, the daughter of '*Hughſon* took the cloth from the table.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Cato* (col. Moore's) confeſſion, § 2, 6. *pa.* 180, 181.

As ſoon as *Scipio* was brought before Mr. *Nicholls* and Mr. *Lodge* to be examined, 'He was aſked who his maſter 'was, and what was his name? he anſwered, maſter, 'don't you know me? I am *Scipio* belonging to Mr. *Robert Bound*, and formerly belonged to Dr. *Nicols*: And 'it being then demanded of him, how he came to be concerned in the conſpiracy? (he being a fellow that did not 'want ſenſe, and had had a better education than moſt of his 'colour) he anſwered, it's true, Sir, I ought to have known 'better; my firſt maſter, Dr. *Nicols*, brought me up from 'a child, ſent me to ſchool, and had me taught to read; 'he intended to give me to his ſon, who was bred a merchant; for which reaſon he put me to a cooper to learn 'that trade; but his ſon going to live in the country, he 'had no uſe for me in that buſineſs; my old maſter therefore ſold me to my preſent maſter *Bound*, who has likewiſe

'wife been very kind to me; but it was with me as is
'with all my colour, who are never eaſy till they get a dram,
'and when they have one want more; this was my caſe
'on my meeting with *Comfort's Jack*, who carried me to
'*Hughſon's*, where from drinking one dram I drank [illegible]
'till I was bewitched with it, &c. as in the examination
'above.

Thoſe gentlemen declared this fellow ſeem'd to be the moſt ſenſible of any they examined, and appear'd very penitent and ſorry for what he had done; he had when examined, his bible in his boſom, which he ſaid he read in goal as often as he could.

NUMB. II.

*LONDON* (Kelly's) *ſaid*, 'That laſt Chriſtmas he 'went with *Tickle* (*Carpenter's*) *Primus* (Deſbroſſe's) to take 'a walk; that they went to *Hughſon's*, drank punch and 'beer: That after they had drank, *Hughſon* told him, now 'was the beſt time to do ſomething, if they intended to do 'it, it being war-time; that *London* aſked what? that he 'ſaid, he ſhould ſwear; and got a book and ſwore him not 'to tell any body of what he would tell him; and then told 'him, the negroes were going to riſe to kill the white people; and that he would find guns for them.

'That ten or fourteen days after, *Fortune* acquainted *York* (Ludlow's) *Quaſh* (Le Roux's) and *Jack* (Judah 'Hay's) of the deſign, and aſked them if they would be 'concerned in the plot? and they ſaid they would with all 'their hearts; but does not know they went to *Hughſon's*.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Tickle's* confeſſion, § 1. *pa.* 150.
*Primus*, Deſbroſſe's, confeſſion, *pa.* 173.
*Worceſter*, Varian's, confeſſion, *pa.* 232.

NUMB. III.

*TONY*, (*Brazier's*) *ſaid*, 'That laſt ſummer capt. 'Marſhall's *Ben* carried him to *Hughſon's*, where they drank 'rum; and *Ben* there told him he muſt burn his miſtreſs's 'houſe; but he ſaid nothing to it, but went away.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Cæſar*, Pintard's, confeſſion, § 4. *pa.* 179.
*Cato*, col. Moore's, confeſſion, § 7. *pa.* 182.

NUMB. IV.

*TOM* (capt. Row's) *ſaid*, 'That Whitſontide laſt 'year he was at *Hughſon's*, with *Albany* and *Quamino* '(Pemberton's;) that after they had drank beer and rum,

'*Hughſon*

'*Hughſon* got a book and ſwore him and *Quamino* not to 'tell any thing about what he would tell them; and then 'told them the negroes did intend to riſe againſt the white 'people; and that he had ſome white people in the coun-'try, that would help him and the negroes; that the town 'was to be ſet on fire; and when it was, *Tom*, being an old 'fellow, ſhould run to him, to be a drummer, not being 'fit for any thing elſe.'

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Sarah*, Burk's, confeſſion, N II. *pa.* 99.
III. *pa.* 117.
*Tickle*'s confeſſion, § 2. *pa.* 141.
*Quamino*, Pemberton's, confeſſion, *pa.* 183.

NUMB. V.

*FORTUNE* (Mr. D. Clarkſon's) *ſaid*, 'That ſome 'time about Chriſtmas laſt, he was going to *Comfort*'s for 'tea-water, where he ſaw *Ben* (capt. Marſhall's) *Quaſh* '(Mr. Rutgers's) and *Fortune* (Mr. Vanderſpiegle's) on the 'hill at *Comfort*'s; that they carried him to *Hughſon*'s, 'where they had one or two bowls of punch; that *Hugh-'ſon* drank with them and told them they ſhould never want 'for liquor whether they had money or not; that after they 'had drank, *Hughſon* made him ſwear and kiſs a book, and 'ſay, d---n my ſoul to h--ll if I tell any body; and told 'him, he muſt fire his maſter's houſe and kill the family, 'or elſe he would kill him; then he promiſed he would.

2. 'That he has been at *Hughſon*'s three times ſince, and 'once heard *Hughſon* ſay, they were to get ſome white 'people out of the country to help them.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Braſh*'s confeſſion, § 5. *pag.* 195.

NUMB. VI.

*CÆSAR* (Kortrecht's) *ſaid*, 'That laſt Chriſtmas he 'went with *Jack* (Comfort's) to *Hughſon*'s; that he was 'in the ſhop, and much in liquor; that he ſaw a room full 'of negroes eating and drinking, but does not know who 'they were, being the whole time in the ſhop; that Com-'fort's *Jack* coming out with the priſoner told him, the '*Spaniards* were coming here, and that the negroes were 'going to riſe, and would help the *Spaniards*; that he offer-'ed him (*Cæſar*) a knife to fight with againſt the white peo-'ple; but he refuſed it, having one in his pocket; that then '*Jack* ſwore him to be one among them, and he promiſed 'them he would.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Cato*, col. Moore's, confeſſion, § 6. *pa.* 180.

*Jack*, Comfort's, examination, § 2, 10. *pa.* 126.

NUMB. VII.

*JONNEAU ſaid*, 'That laſt fall he met *Cæſar* '(Vaarck's) *Cuffee* (Philipſe's) and *Albany*, and they went 'to the houſe of *Frans* a free negro, to drink a dram; that '*Cæſar* took him aſide, and told him the negroes were to 'riſe and take the town; and aſked him to be one; that 'he then declined it; but afterwards he met with thoſe three, 'who carried him to *Hughſon*'s, where they drank much 'liquor; and then *Cæſar* again aſked him to be concerned, 'that the thing might be done, and he would provide arms, 'powder and ſhot; that he then conſented; and *Cæſar* 'ſwore him into the plot, and to ſecrecy. That he has af-'terwards ſeen Ten Eyck's *Billy* ſworn there on a book 'by *Hughſon*, with another negro he knew not, but he was 'a drummer, and wore a lac'd hat: That they were at the 'free negro's; he does not know whether the free negro 'could overhear the propoſal *Cæſar* made to him when he 'took him aſide.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Mary Burton*'s depoſition, N° II. § 7. *pa.* 54.

*Jack*, Comfort's, confeſſion, I. § 2, 24. *p.* 127, 129.

NUMB. VIII.

*JACK* (Abrahamſe's) *ſaid*, 'That a little before 'Chriſtmas, *Jack*, (Comfort's) and *Cato* (Cowley's) car-'ried him to *Hughſon*'s, where they drank punch; that 'then *Hughſon* aſked him, whether he would be concerned 'with him to kill the white people? that he conſented; 'and then *Hughſon* told him he muſt ſwear, and got a book, 'and ſwore the D---l take him if he told any body white 'or black; that when he ſhould hear fire cried at night, 'he ſhould kill his maſter and miſtreſs, and come to him, 'and he would give him a gun and cutlaſs: That there was 'a woman at the fire ſmoaking, that ſaw him ſworn, 'but don't know whether ſhe were *Hughſon*'s wife or who 'elſe.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Tom*, Livingſton's, confeſſion, N° II. *pa.* 226.

This day the Grand Jury recommended the following negroes to the judges to be diſcharged, they finding no ſufficient evidence againſt them whereon to found an indictment, *viz.*

*Tom*,

*Tom*, Vanzant's; *Hereford*, Myers Cohen's; *Kid*, Cornelius Van Horn's.

And they were diſcharged accordingly.

Supreme Court.

*FRIDAY*, 3d JULY. *A. M.*

PRESENT,

*The ſecond Juſtice.*

Court opened and adjourned to four o'clock in the afternoon.

*P. M.*

PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING,

*againſt*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cæſar, | PINTARD's, | *Negroes.* |
| Dundee, | TODD's, | |
| Cæſar, | KORTRECHT's, | |
| Will, *or* Bill, | TEN EYCK's, | |
| Tom, | ROWE's, | |
| Starling, | LAWRENCE's, | |

THE priſoners being arraigned upon an indictment for the conſpiracy; all pleaded *guilty*, and ſubmitted to the mercy of the court.

The KING,

*againſt*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mars, | | |
| London, | FRENCH's, | *Negroes.* |
| Primus, | DEBROSSE's, | |
| Bridgewater, | | |
| Pompey, | LEFFERT's, | |

THE priſoners being arraigned upon an indictment for the conſpiracy; all pleaded *guilty*, and ſubmitted to the mercy of the court.

Court adjourned to *monday* the 6th inſtant ten o'clock in the morning.

Dundee (TODD's) *confeſſion.*

NUMB. II.

HE *ſaid*, 1. 'That the firſt time he was at *Hughſon's*, 'he, *Jack* and *Cook* (Comfort's) drank a pint of rum 'together, and the rum they bought at *Hughſon's* with the 'money he had loſt [at play.]

2. 'That the next time the prisoner bought an half pint 'of rum, and drank it with the same *Cook* and *Jack*; and 'then *Doctor* Hamilton and *Hughson* called *Jack*, and asked 'him, what boy that was? *Jack* answered, *Todd's*; then 'the doctor and *Hughson* called the prisoner and asked him 'to swear upon a book; which he refused, and *Jack* told 'him, he must do it; and that he did swear; the doctor 'held the book and *Hughson* read something out of it; 'and after he had sworn, the doctor took his name down 'upon a piece of paper; that the Doctor, *Hughson* and *Jack*, 'told him not to tell any body of it; and *Jack* told him to 'kill his master and mistress; and that the Doctor told him, 'he should be under captain *Jack*: That then he asked to 'go, and they told him he might.

3. 'That after he had left *Hughson's* house, he asked '*Jack*, what it was he had sworn? *Jack* told him it was 'to burn the town, and to begin at the fort first; and that 'Roosevelt's *Quack* was to set fire to the fort; and then he 'went home.

4. 'That when the fire was in the Smith's Fly, *Patrick*, 'Mr. English's negro told him; the fires in town were 'not half done yet; upon which the prisoner asked *Patrick*, 'why he said so? he said because he knew it.

See his confession before, pag. 187.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Arthur Price's* deposition, N° II. § 2. *pa.* 37.
*Sandy's* examination, III. § 8. *pa.* 96.
*Sarah*, Burk's, examination. II. § 1. *pa.* 99.

*The three following negro confessions were taken this day by Mr.* Nicholls *and Mr.* Lodge.

NUMB. I.

*MARS said*, 'That some time about Christmas last, *Cuffee* Gomez's, and Peck's *Cæsar*, inform'd him of the plot 'behind old *Hat's*, on the dock, and told him they were to 'burn the houses in the town, and fight with the white people; and asked them if he would join with them? That 'they swore him by the thunder, not to discover any thing 'about it. That after he saw *Cæsar* (Peck's) and *Cuffee* '(Gomez's) and they told him one job was done.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Tickle's* confession, N° I, § 3, 4. *pa.* 141.
*Cæsar* (Pintard's) confession, II. § 4, 5. *pa.* 178.

NUMB. II. *Second confession.*

*PRIMUS* (De Brosse's) *said*, 'That sunday before Christmas, *Tickle* (Carpenter's) and *London* (Kelly's) 'carried Mill to *Hughson's*, where they drank; and *Hughson* asked him, if he would stand by them to kill the white 'people of the town; that the *French* and *Spaniards* were 'coming, and would take the town, and they would help 'the *Spaniards*? he told him, yes; and then *Hughson* 'swore him, the devil fetch him if he told any body or did 'not help them; he said yes: That *Hughson* told him, that 'when he heard a noise in the town, he must steal his mas'ter's gun, and come to his house; and that he should kill 'his master and mistress; but he said he would not.

2. 'That two or three days after *Van Zant's* storehouse 'a fire, he met Peck's *Cæsar*, who told him, he had set the 'storehouse on fire.

See his confession before, pag. 173.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Tickle's* confession, N. II. § 1. *pa.* 150.
*Cæsar*, Pintard's, confession, § 4. *pa.* 178.
*London*, Kelly's, confession, *pa.* 242.

NUMB. III. *First confession.*

*SAM* (Lowe's) *said*, 'That on Easter holidays was a 'year, he went to *Hughson's* with Comfort's *Jack*, where 'he saw Mr. Philipse's *Frank* and Hyer's *Tom*; that *Frank* 'was drinking beer; that *Hughson* carried him into another 'room, and asked him if he would be concerned with him 'in taking the town? he said he would, if it could be 'done; that *Hughson* told him it could; and then he swore 'him, and told him, that when the houses were on fire, 'he should come to him, and he would furnish him with arms.

*Evidence affecting this negro.*

*Pompey* (De Lancey's) confession, § 5. *pa.* 177.
*Cato* (col. Moore's) confession, § 2, 6. *pa.* 180, 181.
*London*, (Wyncoop's) confession, § 1, 2. *pa.* 194.

*DEPOSITION.*

'*WILLIAM NAIL*, servant to *Thomas Cox*, of the 'city of *New-York*, butcher, being duly sworn 'upon the holy evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth and 'saith, That he the deponent having discourse with one *Lon*'*don*, a negro man slave belonging to *Edward Kelly*, butcher, 'concerning negroes that were taken up on account of the 'plot, heard the said *London* swear, by G-d, that if he 'the said *London* should be taken up on account of the plot,

'he would hang or burn all the negroes in *York*, whether 'they were concerned or not *.

This day *Prince*, Duane's; *Tony*, Latham's; *Cæsar*, Shurmur's; *Harry*, Kip's; and *York*, Marschalk's negroes, were executed at the gallows, according to sentence; and the body of *York* was afterwards hung in chains, upon the same gibbet with *John Hughson*.

Some few days before this, the town was amused with a rumour, that *Hughson* was turned negro, and Vanzandt's *Cæsar* a white; and when they came to put up *York* in chains by *Hughson* (who was hung upon the gibbet three weeks before) so much of him as was visible, *viz.* face, neck, hands and feet, were of a deep shining black, rather blacker than the negro placed by him, who was one of the darkest hue of his kind; and the hair of *Hughson*'s beard and neck (his head could not be seen, for he had a cap on) was curling like the wool of a negro's beard and head; and the features of his face were of the symmetry of a negro beauty; the nose broad and flat, the nostrils open and extended, the mouth wide, lips full and thick, his body (which when living, was tall by the view upwards of six feet, but very meagre) swell'd to a gigantick size; and as to *Cæsar* (who, though executed for a robbery, was also one of the head negro conspirators, had been hung up in chains a month before *Hughson*, and was also of the darkest complexion) his face was at the same time somewhat bleach'd or turned whitish; insomuch that it occasion'd a remark, that *Hughson* and he had changed colours. The beholders were amazed at these appearances; the report of them engaged the attention of many, and drew numbers of all ranks, who had curiosity, to the gibbets, for several days running, in order to be convinced by their own eyes, of the reality of things so confidently reported to be, at least, wondrous phænomenons; and upon the view they were found to be such as have been described: Many of the spectators were ready to resolve them into miracles; however, others not so hasty, though surprized at the sights, were willing to account for them in a natural way; so that they administred matter for much speculation.

The sun at this time had great power, and the season as usual very hot, that *Hughson*'s body drip'd and distill'd very much, as it needs must, from the great fermentation and abundance of matter within him, as could not but be supposed

* 'It is not improbable but he might know that most of them were concerned.

at

at that time, from the extraordinary bulk of his body; though conſidering the force of the ſun, and the natural manageableſs of his corps, one would have been apt to imagine, that long e're this, it would have been diſencumbered of all its juices. At length, about ten days or a fortnight after *Hughſon*'s mate, *York*, was hung by him, *Hughſon*'s corps unable longer to contain its load, burſt and diſcharged pails full * of blood and corruption; this was teſtified by thoſe who were near by, fiſhing upon the beach when the irruption happen'd, to whom the ſtench of it was very offenſive.

Thoſe who were inclined to account in a natural way, for what was by ſome eſteemed almoſt miraculous, by all very ſurpriſing, obſerved, that by the written evidences of witneſſes, both black and white, information was given of poiſon being diſtributed amongſt the conſpirators †, and of the uſe their principals intended ſhould have been made of it; 'Harry, a negro doctor, was to bring the negroes 'poiſon to uſe (if they were diſcovered and taken) before 'they were executed; *Kane* had ſeen him give poiſon (as 'they called it) to Walter's *Quack* for that purpoſe, in pa-'pers; *Quack* ſaid, he ſhould not be ſuſpected, he might 'go to the priſon to carry victuals; and ſo could give the 'poiſon to thoſe who were condemned, to prevent their ex-'ecution ‡. *Kane* ſaw Doctor *Harry* give a large quantity '[of it] to *Hughſon*.'

*Mary Burton* ſpeaks of their having poiſon amongſt them; § ſhe ſays, 'She had ſeen three or four papers of poiſon in 'Hughſon's drawers, which ſhe underſtood he had of ſome 'negro.

It has been related already ‖ that *Hughſon* when he was brought out of goal to be carried to his execution, had a red ſpot in each cheek, about the bigneſs of a ſhilling, which at that time was by ſome thought very remarkable, becauſe he was always pale of viſage; and the ſheriffs (who obſerved it) did not believe, from the care that had been taken,

* Which may be underſtood to mean a ſurpriſing quantity.

† See William Kane's examination, § 16. pa. 258.

‡ This office we may ſuppoſe was to be adminiſtred by Quack without the knowledge of the patients (and he ſpeaks as if they had a confidence in him) in order to diſpatch them, and prevent their telling tales: for when they found themſelves in jeopardy, there might be danger of their ſpeaking the truth, and diſcovering their principals, in hopes of ſaving their own lives by it.

§ In her evidence upon trial of eight negroes 13th of this month, viz. her teſtimony againſt Doctor Harry.

‖ Page 244.

he

he could have drank any ſtrong liquor in goal; which was an additional reaſon why they took ſo much notice of him.

Upon the ſuppoſition that *Hughſon* had taken poiſon, it has been made a queſtion, whether that might not have occaſioned the ſwelling of his corps to ſo amazing a bulk? Nay his arms, legs, and thighs, were enlarged in proportion to the body; this is ſubmitted to the conſideration of the curious and connoiſſeurs in phyſick.

As to the change of complexions in *Hughſon* and *Caeſar*, ſome imputed it to the influence of the ſun; but to that it was objected, it would be ſtrange indeed, that the ſun ſhould have two ſuch different effects as to turn *Hughſon* [a white] black, and *Caeſar* [a negro,] whitiſh.

As to *Hughſon*'s taking poiſon, that by ſome was thought very improbable; for, as it is ſaid, in the account of his behaviour at, and going to his execution, his actions were obſerved to be ſuch, as betokened his expectation of being reſcued; he held up his hand as high as his pinion would admit of, and ſeemed to beckon with his finger, as one expecting deliverance; and if that was his perſuaſion, he would not have taken poiſon, which was certain death; and beſides, if he had taken any, he would have taken a ſufficient quantity, and time enough, to have anſwered the deſign of it, which muſt be ſuppoſed to be, to deſtroy himſelf to prevent his execution.

To this it was anſwered, that though he might be determined to take poiſon to deſtroy himſelf, and did take ſome, yet he might do it with ſo much reluctance, as not to take the quantity preſcribed ſufficient to anſwer the end; which though he might not be aware of, but expect certain death from it, yet the nearer he approached the gallows, the more his thoughts might be confuſed, and nature prevailed; as long as there is life, there is hopes, and his deliverance might be uppermoſt in his mind; he would willingly have avoided the infamy of hanging, and ſtand the chance of ſaving his life into the bargain.

Whatever were the cauſes of theſe changes, the facts are here related, that every one may make their own conjectures upon them.

But *Hughſon* it ſeems, let the worſt happen to him in all events, declared as he was going to mount the cart which was to carry him to execution, 'that he did not doubt but 'ſome remarkable ſign would happen to him, to ſhew [or 'ſignify] his innocence,' and if his corps becoming monſtrous

ſtrous in ſize, and his complexion (for once to uſe a vulgar ſimile) as black as the d—l, can be deemed remarkable ſigns or tokens of his innocence! then ſome may imagine, it has happened according to his expectation.

## SATURDAY, 4th JULY.

The goal being now thronged with negroes committed as confederates in the conſpiracy, many whereof had made confeſſions of their guilt, in hopes of pardon in conſequence of the proclamation, and others who were pardoned and turned evidence; it was feared, conſidering the ſeaſon of the year, that ſuch numbers cloſely confined might be apt to breed an infection; therefore the judges thought it was proper to examine the liſt of them, and to mark out ſuch as ſhould be thought proper to recommend to his honour the lieutenant governor, to be pardoned, upon condition of tranſportation to be therein limited by a ſhort time; and to diſtinguiſh which of them who had been made uſe of as witneſſes, might be neceſſary to reſerve for ſome time; and for this purpoſe they aſſociated to them Mr. *Nicholls* and Mr. *Lodge*, by whoſe aſſiſtance the following liſt was accordingly ſettled, which the judges reported to his honour, and ſubmitted to his conſideration.

*A* Liſt *of negroes recommended this day by the judges to his honour the lieutenant governor, for tranſportation.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Quamino*, | Pemberton's, | *Primus*, | De Broſſe's, |
| *Toby*, | Widow Breaſted's, | *Jacob*, | Rutgers's, |
| *Will* or *Bill*, | Ten Eyck's, | *Mink*, | Groeſbeck's |
| *Warwick*, | Hunt's, | *Titus*, | Phœnix's, |
| *Tom*, | Soumain's, | *Lewis*, | Schuyler's, |
| *Deptford*, | Cruger's, | *Jonneau*, | Vaarck's, |
| *Will*, | Luſh's, | *Scotland*, | Marſton's, |
| *York*, | Peck's, | *Worceſter*, | Varian's, |
| *Scipio*, | Van Borſom's, | *Jamaica*, | Elliſon's, |
| *Guy*, | Horſefield's, | *Patrick*, | Engliſh's, |
| *Cato*, | Benſon's, | *Scipio*, | Abrahamſe's |
| *Tony*, | Widow Brazier's, | *Fortune*, | Clarkſon's, |
| *Scipio*, | Bound's, | *Cæſar*, | Pintard's, |
| *Cæſar*, | Kortrecht's, | *Fortune*, | Wilkins's, |
| *Jack*, | Abrahamſe's, | *Tom*, | Moore's, |
| *Dundee*, | Todd's, | *Pompey*, | Leffert's, |
| *Starling*, | Lawrence's, | *London*, | Marſchalk's, |
| *York*, | Crooke's, | *Wan*, | Low's, |

*Bridg-*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Bridgwater*, | Van Horne's, | 40 *Will*, | Vanzandt's, |
| *London*, | French's, | *Fortune*, | Lattimer's, |
| *Mars*, | Becker's, | *Satah*, | Bush's. |

This day *Will*, Ward's negro, was executed, according to ſentence, and made the following confeſſion at the gallows.

1. HE ſaid, 'That *William Kane*, a ſoldier belonging to the fort, knew of the plot; and he heard the 'ſaid *Kane* ſay, he did not care if the fort was burnt down: 'that ſince the plot was diſcovered he told *Kane* he would 'make a diſcovery; on which *Kane* gave him three pounds 'in bills, and told him, not to diſcover; part of which mo- 'ney his young miſtreſs found in his cheſt.

2. 'That his miſtreſs loſt a ſilver ſpoon, which he, *Will*, 'ſtole and carried to *Kane*'s wife, who gave it her huſband 'in his preſence, and he ſold it to *Peter Van Dyke*, a ſil- 'ver-ſmith, and gave him [*Will*] eight ſhillings of the 'money.

3. That *Kane* and *Kelly* * aſked *Quack* to burn the 'fort, and ſaid, if that was done, they (the ſoldiers) would 'have their liberty; and *Kelly* ſaid, you muſt do it with 'ſome wet cotton, and that will make no ſmoke.

4. 'That he has talked of the plot with *Kane* and *Kelly* 'often, and has been at *Kane*'s houſe, and has heard that 'other ſoldiers were concerned, but does not know them. 'That he has ſeen *Quack* (Walter's) there, Ryndert's *Tom*, 'Governeur's *Jack*, Cuyler's *Pedro* †; and *John* (Van- 'zant's) went round, who received ſome money in his hat, 'collected at a meeting at *Kelly*'s, which money was to be 'paid to *Hughſon*.

5. 'That *Quack*, Goelet's, and *Will*, Tiebout's, drew 'him in; and called on their names to the laſt.

6. 'That *Pedro* (De Peyſter's) is innocent for what he 'knows.

7. 'That Moore's *Cato* adviſed him and *Pedro*, to bring 'in many negroes, telling *Pedro*, that he would be certainly 'burnt or hanged if he did not confeſs; but that if he 'brought in a good many, it would ſave his life; for he had 'found it ſo himſelf; and muſt ſay, he was to ſet his ma- 'ſter's houſe on fire, which would make the judges believe 'him ‡.

8. 'That

* Both ſoldiers belonging to the gariſon, and reputed papiſts.

† This negro not apprehended.

‡ Pedro by Schultz's depoſition of the firſt inſtant, charges Will himſelf with

8. 'That Pintard's *Ceſar* ſaid much the ſame; and 'Comfort's *Jack* adviſed *Cato*; but that *Jack* was a true 'evidence.'

The pile being kindled, this wretch ſet his back to the ſtake, and raiſing up one of his legs, laid it upon the fire, and lifting up his hands and eyes, cried aloud, and ſeveral times repeated the names, *Quack*, *Goelet's*, and *Will*, *Tiebout's*, who he had ſaid brought him into this plot.

This evening *William Kane*, ſoldier, *Quack*, Goelet's, and *Will*, Tiebout's negroes, were apprehended and committed.

After we had ſeveral of the fires mentioned in the introduction to this JOURNAL, *Quack*, Goelet's, was had up and examined before the magiſtrates, for ſome ſuſpicious words overheard to be uttered by him, to another negro, which ſeemed to import ſtrong hints as if he had been privy to the occaſion of them; but nothing could be made of it, and was therefore diſcharged. But this was long before we had the leaſt intimation of a conſpiracy.

## *SUNDAY, 5th* JULY.

*Examination of* William Kane, *Soldier:*
*Taken before the chief and third Juſtice.*

NUMB. I.

1. HE ſaid, 'That he was born at *Athlone* in *Ireland*; 'had been in this country four and thirty years; 'aged about forty.

2. 'That he never was at *Hughſon's* houſe, nor did he 'know where it was.

3. 'That ſome time laſt ſummer, when the *Cuba* men * 'were here, his wife brought home a ſilver ſpoon out of the 'fields, which ſhe had of one of the *Cuba* men: this was 'about the time of their embarking: that he believed his 'wife could tell the name of the man.

4. 'That he carried the ſame ſpoon to *Van Dyke* the ſil-'ver-ſmith to ſell; the ſpoon was battered up, and he told '*Van Dyke* he believed it was a ſtolen ſpoon; but he an-

with giving that advice: but theſe are Will's dying words in the midſt of flames, and may be ſuppoſed to come from him upon a queſtion put, whether he had not adviſed Pedro ſo? So rare is it to get the truth from theſe wretches.

* Meaning the ſoldiers raiſed in this province for the expedition to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies.

'ſwered,

'fmered, that he would buy it for all that: his ſon endeavoured to open the ſpoon, to ſee if he could diſcover the 'name, and broke it to pieces: *Van Dyke* bought it of him, 'and gave him a mill'd Spaniſh piece of eight, and he 'thinks, to the beſt of his remembrance, ſeven or eight ſhillings in pennies; it was about fourteen days time between 'his wife's bringing the ſpoon to him, and his carrying it 'to *Van Dyke*'s.

5. 'Never was at *Kelly*'s the ſoldier's houſe in his 'life.

6. 'Had no acquaintance with *John Romme*; never was 'at his houſe at the battery in his life.

7. 'That he never was in company with *Jury*, alias 'Ury, now in goal; nor had he any acquaintance with him; 'nor was he ever at any congregation or meeting where the 'ſaid *Jury*, alias *Ury*, either preached or prayed.

8. 'That he has no other acquaintance with *Connelly*, 'now in goal, than common for one brother ſoldier with 'the other; never was at his houſe in his life.

9. 'Profeſſed himſelf a proteſtant of the church of *England*; and ſaid, that he never was at any *Roman Catholick* congregation in his life.

10. 'That he has heard *Thankful Spotten*, wife of *James Spotten* (both lodgers at his houſe) ſay, that ſhe once ſaw 'a large company of negroes at *Kelly*'s houſe, dancing to a 'fiddle; ſhe ſaid ſhe then lodged at *Kelly*'s; came home 'about eight of the clock at night, and one of the negroes '(a tall one) aſked her what buſineſs ſhe had there? and 'threatened to kick her into the fire, if ſhe did not go a-'way: *Kelly*'s wife aſked her to go up ſtairs, and ſee the 'negroes dance; then ſhe was going down ſtairs, and ſhe 'met Mr. Kennedy's *mulatto* coming into the room, who 'huſt the negro fellow, and bid her ſet down again.

While *Kane* was under examination, the under-ſheriff came and informed the judges, that *Mary Burton* had declared, that ſhe had often ſeen him at *Hughſon*'s, amongſt *Hughſon*, his wife, &c. and the negroes, when they were talking of the conſpiracy, and that he was one of the confederates: whereupon ſhe was ordered to be brought in; and being confronted with *Kane*, ſhe immediately declared to the effect in the following depoſition: the chief juſtice, who was a ſtranger to the tranſactions concerning the detection of the conſpiracy (having been abſent attending the execution of his Majeſty's ſpecial commiſſion at *Providence*)

he

he thought proper to admonish the witness in an awful and solemn manner, concerning the nature of an oath, and the consequences of taking a false one, more especially as it affected a man's life: she answered, she was acquainted with the nature of an oath very well, and that she would not take a false one upon any account; and repeated the same charge against *Kane* over and over, and persisted in it, that what she said was truth; all which *Kane* as positively denied; whereupon she was sworn, and the following evidence taken.

## DEPOSITION, NUMB. V.

*MARY BURTON* being duly sworn and produced before *William Kane*, soldier, saith, 'That she had 'seen the said *Kane* at *Hughson*'s very often, talking with '*Hughson*, his wife and daughter, *Peggy Salinburgh*, alias '*Kerry*, *Cæsar*, *Yaarck*'s, *Gallaway*, *Kuttgers*'s, *Prince*, 'Auboyneau's, and *Cuffee*, Philipse's, negroes; and the 'discourse amongst them was, that they would burn the 'town, the fort first, the governor and all his family in it, 'and kill all the white people; and that she heard the said '*William Kane* say, that he would help them all that laid 'in his power.'

Then *Mary Burton* was ordered to withdraw, and *Kane* was apprised of the danger he was in, and told he must not flatter himself with the least hopes of mercy, but by making a candid and ingenuous confession of all that he knew of the matter, or to this purpose; but he still denied what had been alledged against him by *Mary Burton*; till upon most solemn admonition, he began to be affected; his countenance changed, and being near fainting, desired to have a glass of water, which was brought him; and after some pause, he said he would tell the truth, though at the same time he seemed very loth to do it; but after some hesitation began to open; and several hours were spent in taking down heads of his confession, which were afterwards drawn out at large, and distinctly read over to him, and being duly sworn, he made oath that the same was true, and (not knowing how to write) he put his mark to it.

Fur-

*Further examination and confession of* William Kane. *The same day.*

NUMB. II.

1. HE *said*, 'There was one *Jerry Corker* who liv-
'ed in the governor's ſtable, near before Chriſtmas
'laſt, when he was centry at the governor's door, he came
'out, and he, *Kane*, being dry, aſked him for ſome beer;
'he ſaid he would get ſome, and had rum in his pocket and
'would make flip; which he did in a copper pot with loaf
'ſugar; that he, *Kane*, drank a draught; and when he was
'relieved at nine at night, *Corker* came into the guard-
'room, and aſked him if he would go to *Croker*'s at the
'fighting-cocks, where there was to be a chriſtening by a
'*Romiſh* prieſt? When they were there the people did not
'come that night; they ſtaid till paſt ten: the next night
'they went again, and they were not there: the third night
'they went to New-ſtreet, to the houſe of one *Coffin* a
'pedlar; there they had a child, and chriſtened it, and three
'acted as prieſts, and handed the book about.

2. 'That about four days after, *Corker* and he were
'upon guard, and *Corker* ſaid, by G—d, I have a mind to
'burn the fort. *Corker* went away ſome time after the
'fire at the fort, to work in the country; he believed about
'the white plains.

3. 'That he had heard *Corker*, *John Coffin* and *Daniel*
'*Fagan* talk about burning the town, before they went
'away.

4. 'One of thoſe who acted as prieſt, was a little man
'that lodged at *Croker*'s *.

5. 'That *Fagan*, *Corker* and *Coffin* drew him, *Kane*,
'behind the church to a meeting; and would have had him
'to rob houſes with them and go off.

6. 'That he was at two meetings at *Hughſon*'s about
'the plot; the firſt was the ſecond day of Chriſtmas, and
'the ſecond the laſt ſunday in February, before the fire at
'the fort †: *Corker*, *Fagan* and *Coffin* were at the firſt
'meeting: and the ſecond he, *Kane*, was ſworn to ſecrecy
'by *Hughſon*; he who firſt diſcovered it was to be hanged at
'low-water-mark; his privy parts were to be cut out and
'thrown in his face; his belly ript open, and his body eat-

* Ury lodged there till he removed to Campbell's, to keep ſchool with him.
† This agrees with the negro account of the great meeting there.

'en by the birds of the air: *Hughson*'s father and three 'brothers, and an old white woman they said was crazy, 'were present: at the second meeting he, *Kane*, and these 'men, and *Sarah Hughson* the daughter were sworn toge-'ther: they were to burn what they could of the city, and 'get what money and goods they could and carry them to 'Mr. *Alexander*'s house, which was to be reserved for 'Hughson; we were to kill the principal people.

7. 'That if any people came from the country or *West-'Indies*, to conquer them; they were to kill the people 'belonging to the vessels here, and go to *Spain*: their de-'sign was to wait for the *French* and *Spaniards*, whom they 'expected: and if they did not come in six weeks, then 'they were to try what they could do for themselves †: most 'of the negroes he believed would join them if they were 'like to succeed: this he learnt from *Hughson* and *Corker*? 'Hughson was to be King, and *Cæsar* (Varick's) the chief 'amongst the negroes.

8. 'That he has heard several negroes say, that chief 'justice's *Othello* was concerned; Comfort's *Jack* said so 'since the fire at the fort, and since the chief justice went 'to *New-England*.

9. 'That *Corker*, who attended the plumber the day the 'fort was burnt, was at *Hughson*'s several times before he; 'Kane, was there, and brought him there: the priest, the 'little man that lodged at *Croker*'s, was several times at 'Hughson's, and many negroes were christened there by 'him: he has endeavoured to seduce him, *Kane*, to the *Ro-'mish* religion ‡ at *Coffin*'s house; he, *Kane*, was asked whe-'ther he could read *Latin*? He said, no; then whether he 'could read *English*? He said, no; then *Coffin* read, and 'told him, *Kane*, what a fine thing it was to be a *Roman*; 'that they could forgive sins, and should not go to hell; 'he, *Kane*, answered, he would not believe that on any 'man's word; and there happened a squabble; and he, 'Kane, went away, or else he don't know but they would 'have seduced him, the priest and *Coffin* pressed him so. He 'has not heard the priest say any thing of the conspiracy; 'but from *Corker*'s account, he, *Kane*, believes he knew it.

* Probably Luckstead, Hughson's mother-in-law, who pretended to tell fortunes.

† This also agrees with the negro account. See Jack, Comfort's, confes-sion, § 25. pa. 129.

‡ And 'tis said Kane was always reputed a papist.

10. 'That *Connolly*, on the governor's island, has owned 'himself to have been bred up a priest, to him, *Kane*; 'and was often in company with *Jarry*: *Kelly* is a Roman; '*Connolly* and he were intimate.

11. 'That *Kelly* asked him, *Kane*, about new-year's-day, if he 'would go to *Hughson*'s? He asked, for what? He, *Kelly*, 'said something was to be done there; he, *Kane*, asked 'what? He, *Kelly*, said something you have heard of before; 'he, *Kane*, asked what is that? He, *Kelly*, said, don't you 'know what *Jerry Corker* said to you before Christmas 'about burning the fort? What said he, *Kane*, is that in 'agitation still; yes said he, *Kelly*, and ever shall be till the 'fort be burnt down.

12. 'That *Campbell* had an opportunity to come to him, '*Kane*, yesterday in goal, and said, though he could pay 'the debt he was in for, yet he believed they would not 'let him out, on account of the priest that lodged at his 'house *.

13. 'That he had seen Holt's *Joe* at *Hughson*'s at the 'two meetings, and he said, he would do his endeavours 'with the best.

14. 'That *Holt* † had (the year he left Mr. *De Lancey*'s house, before he left it) whipt his negro *Joe* very 'severely; and *Joe* meeting him (*Kane*) the next day, when 'he, *Kane*, told him of his whipping; he said, that cursed 'dog my master, is the greatest rogue in the world; he 'would burn all the town to get money; if you knew 'what was between him and *Hughson* it would make you 'stare: and this he repeated the next day.

15. 'That Walter's *Quack* has often said, he would 'ride in the coach, after he had destroyed his master: he 'was sworn by thunder and lightening, G—d's curse and 'hell fire fall on them that first discovered the plot, which 'was the negroes oath.

16. 'Some black stuff was cut among the negroes, which 'he did not know, but heard it was to set fire to the roofs 'of houses in dry weather; he has seen one *Harry* a ne-'gro doctor that lives on *Long Island* bring that stuff, and 'has seen him several times at *Hughson*'s, and at the two 'meetings: he, *Harry*, was to bring the negroes poison to

* Ury.

† Holt, a dancing master, he came to this city from South Carolina about four or five years ago, of what religion we know not; but soon after the fire at the fort, he thought proper to ship himself off to Jamaica, where he soon after died, and spared the hangman labour.

'uſe (if they were taken) before they were executed: He, '*Kane*, has ſeen him give poiſon (as they called it) to Wal-'ter's *Quack* for that purpoſe, in papers, which he, *Hor-*'*ry*, took out of his pocket; *Quack* ſaid he ſhould not be 'ſuſpected, and he might go to the priſon and carry victuals, 'and ſo could give the poiſon to thoſe that were condemned, 'to prevent their execution: He, *Kane*, has ſeen doctor '*Harry* give a large quantity to *Hughſon*.

17. 'That Niblet's *Sandy* was at *Hughſon*'s at the firſt 'meeting; he, *Kane*, never was at *Comfort*'s, but has ſeen 'the negroes there of ſundays, and come to *Hughſon*'s; and 'has ſeen three *Spaniſh* negroes at *Hughſon*'s, but does not 'know whoſe they are, except one of capt. *Sary*'s; he ſhould 'if he ſaw them know them again.

18. 'That at the ſecond meeting he was at *Hughſon*'s 'about the plot, there were preſent about eight negroes, 'viz. *Quack*, Walter's; *Ceſar*, Vaarck's; *Caſſie*, Philipſe's; '*Prince*, Auboyneau's; *Albany*, Carpenter's; *Robin*, Cham-'bers's; *Jack*, Comfort's; and Niblet's *Sandy* *; he ſaw all 'the negroes ſworn, and the following ceremony was uſed; 'there was a black ring made on the floor about two foot 'and a half diameter; and *Hughſon* bid every one pull off 'the left ſhoe and put their toes within the ring, and Mrs. '*Hughſon* held a bowl of punch over their heads as the ne-'groes ſtood round the circle, and *Hughſon* pronounced 'the oath abovementioned, and every negro ſeverally re-'peated the words after him, and then *Hughſon*'s wife fed 'them with a draught out of the bowl.

19. 'That *Corker* told him, *Kane*, that *Hughſon* and he 'had deſigned to burn the Engliſh church laſt Chriſtmas day, 'but that *Ury* the prieſt ſaid, they had better let it alone 'till better weather, that the roof might be dry, and a larg-'er congregation. Their full deſign was to burn the En-'gliſh church; they had a greater ſpight againſt that than 'any other, eſpecially this *Jury*.

20. 'That at the time that the eight negroes laſt men-'tioned were at *Hughſon*'s, he ſaw ſeveral other negroes 'in the houſe.

21. 'That at the firſt meeting that he was at *Hughſon*'s, 'about the plot, he ſaw *Galloway* there, and *Galloway* was 'very talkative and active about the plot, and ſaid he would 'lend a brave hand, he would take care of his maſter, and 'ſoon make him breeches †.

* Tho' Sandy always denied he ever was there. † He formerly belonged to a leather dreſſer and glover.

The above examination having been diſtinctly read to the ſaid *William Kane*, he, being duly ſworn, made oath, that the ſame was true, and ſigned his mark for his name.

Supreme Court.

*MONDAY*, 6th JULY.

PRESENT,

*The Honourable* JAMES DE LANCEY, *Eſq; Chief Juſtice.*

*The third Juſtice.*

Court opened and adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

THIS day *John Coffin*, pedlar, was apprehended, and immediately brought before two of the judges, who examined him concerning the charge againſt him as one of the confederates in the conſpiracy; the fellow ſeemed to be under terrible apprehenſions, trembled and cried, but denied every thing alledged againſt him by *Kane*; particularly, he proteſted that he did not know, nor was any wiſe acquainted with *John Hughſon*; or ever ſaw him till he was hanged; that he never had any acquaintance with *Kane*, nor was ever in his company but once, and then he drank a mug of beer with him at *Eleanor Wallis's*.

*Coffin* was committed.

*Quaſh* (Le Roux's) *Jack* (Judah Hays's) negroes, were this day diſcharged by the third juſtice, purſuant to the recommendation of the grand jury, who did not credit the evidence of the negro *London* (Kelly's) which impeached them.

*Evidence affecting theſe two negroes.*

*London* (Kelly's) confeſſion, § 2. *pag.* 242.

This day alſo *Doctor Harry*, a negro, was apprehended and committed.

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY*, 7th JULY.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Juſtice.*

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING, *againſt*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Titus, | PHAENIX's, | *Negroes.* |
| Jonneau, | VAARCK's, | |
| Scotland, | MARSTON's, | |
| Fortune, | WILKINS's, | |
| Fortune, | LATHAM's, | |
| Sarah, | BURK's, | |

THE priſoners having been indicted for the conſpiracy, were thereupon arraigned, and pleaded *guilty*, and ſubmitted to the mercy of the court. The

The KING,
*against*
Sarah, BURK *a negro.*

THE prisoner having pleaded *guilty*, the court passed sentence upon her to be hanged.

*Ordered*, That the said *Sarah* be executed on the morrow between the hours of nine and one of the same day.

Court adjourned to thursday the 9th instant, ten o'clock in the morning.

The reason of the resolution for executing the negro wench *Sarah*, was, that upon the trial of *Cuffee*, Gomez's; *Robin*, Chambers's; *Cæsar*, Peck's; *Jack* and *Cook*, Comfort's, and *Jamaica*, Ellison's, six of the negro conspirators, she was found endorsed upon the indictment as a witness against every one of them, excepting only *Jamaica*; and when she was called to give her evidence, she prevaricated grosly, and differed so widely from what was penned down from her in her several examinations, that the court could give no further credit to her evidence; so that she deservedly drew the rope about her own neck.

Adam's *examination and confession, before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. II.

1. HE said, 'That he saw the negro *Doctor Harry* at the house of *John Hughson*, about a week before 'Christmas last; there were present at that time, *Hughson*, 'his wife and daughter, *Peggy*, and *Mary Burton*. The '*Doctor* was then sworn of the plot; his hand upon the 'book and kissed it; he was to do as the rest, kill the white 'people and burn houses: That he had seen *Doctor Harry* 'at *Hughson's* four or five times since.

2. 'That of a sunday afternoon he saw the said *Harry* 'cross from the city-hall down the church-street, and so 'round the English church-yard down to *Hughson's*; and he, '*Adam*, went down to *Hughson's*, and saw him there.

3. 'That he has seen him once in town about three 'weeks before the fort fired, and once going down to '*Hughson's*, since the fort burnt.——That he had heard 'he came over in a little canoe *.

*Doctor Harry* was sent for by two of the judges; and being charged with what was alledged against him as one of the conspirators, he stiffly denied all, and declared, that he never was at *Hughson's*, nor had he been in town since he was ordered out by the magistrates.

* He lived upon Nassau, alias Long-island.

Then he was confronted with *Kane* and *Adam*, who severally repeated the ſubſtance of what they had before declared in their examinations concerning him; but the doctor was ſtout, denied all, and was remanded.

The doctor was a ſmooth ſoft ſpoken fellow, and like other knaves, affected the air of ſincerity and innocence; but was of a ſuſpicious character; well known to the magiſtrates of this city; had a few years before been forbid the town for male practice in phyſick, upon the penalty of being ſeverely whipped, if he was ſeen here again.

*Examination of* Sam, P. Low's *negro*, *ſecond confeſſion.*

HE *ſaid*, 'That laſt Eaſter was twelve months he went with *Jacob*, Abrahamſe's *Scipio* to *Hughſon*'s 'houſe; that when he went in, he ſaw Judge Philipſe's '*Frank* and the widow Hyer's *Tom*, drinking a mug of beer; 'that he did not ſpeak to *Frank* nor to *Tom* at that time; 'that he does not know they ever have been told of the plot 'by either white people or negroes; and that they never 'mentioned the plot to them, nor they to him; but confeſſes that he, *Sam*, was ſworn as one of the conſpiracy: 'The reſt he refers to his former examination *.

*A liſt of the negroes recommended this day by the Judges to his honour the lieutenant governor, to be pardoned in order for tranſportation.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Patrick*, | Engliſh's, | *Fortune*, | Wilkins's, |
| *Will*, | Vaarck's, | *Tom*, | Ben. Moore's, |
| *Worceſter*, | Varian's, | *Pompey*, | Lefferts's, |
| *Jamaica*, | Elliſon's, | *London*, | Marſchalk's, |
| *Scipio*, | Abrahamſe's, | *Wan*, | Low's, |
| *Cæſar*, | Pintard's, | *Fortune*, | Latham's. |
| *Fortune*, | Clarkſon's, | | |

## *WEDNESDAY*, 8th JULY.

THE ſentence of *Sarah Hughſon* the daughter, having been reſpited for upwards of three weeks ſince the execution of her father and mother, and ſhe in that time often importuned to confeſs what ſhe knew of the conſpiracy, did always peremptorily deny ſhe knew any thing of the matter, and made uſe of many wicked imprecations, in order to excite compaſſion in thoſe that moved it to her, after the manner of her parents, whoſe conſtant practice it was, whenever ſpoke to about the plot: And this being the day ap-

* 3d July, pag. 247.

pointed

pointed for *Sarah*'s execution, ſhe was this morning brought up to Mr. *Pemberton*, who came to pray by her, and after all his admonitions, ſtill denied her guilt; and being carried back to her dungeon where was the negro wench *Sarah*, under ſentence alſo to be executed this day; *Sarah Hughſon* at laſt owned to her, that ſhe had been ſworn into the plot.—This negro wench (thinking as may be ſuppoſed to make a merit of it) ſoon after told what had paſſed between them to the under-ſheriff, who acquainted the judges with it; and they ſent for *Sarah Hughſon*, who confeſſed before them her knowledge of the conſpiracy; whereupon the execution of both criminals was further reſpited.

*Examination of* Sarah Hughſon *under condemnation, Before the chief Juſtice, the ſecond Juſtice, and others.*

'1. *SARAH HUGHSON* being examined, ſaid, ſhe ſaw *William Kane* ſworn * on ſunday evening, 'ſome time before Chriſtmas, ſhe can't tell exactly; That 'he threatened to kill her if ſhe diſcovered, and the negroes 'threatened her the ſame; her father charged her to ſay no-'thing about it: They were firſt to begin with burning the 'fort with a good wind; after that they were to begin at the 'upper end of the town, with an eaſt wind, ſo as to burn 'the whole town; to deſtroy the whites; that they might 'come and hold it, ſo that it could not be taken from them 'again: She thinks her mother knew of it.

2. 'The firſt time ſhe ſaw *Jury* † was with *Campbell*, a-'bout a fortnight before *May* day, when they came to ſee 'the houſe; there were ſeveral negroes there concerned: 'Walter's *Quack*, Philipſe's *Cuffee*, Fork's ‡ *Cæſar*, Com-'fort's *Jack*, *Baſtian*, negroes, uſed to come after dark: ſhe 'can't remember them, but ſhould know them if ſhe ſaw 'them; has ſeen a middle ſized white man that called him-'ſelf a doctor, with black hair always cut, of a ſharp chin ‖, 'often talking with the negroes, and drinking with them: '*Peggy* uſed to ſay that *Quack*, Walter's, was her ſweet-'heart, and ſhe thought him the handſomeſt among them; 'Thinks ſhe has heard the name of one *Coffin*; he is a freſh 'coloured long haired man, who was often at *Hughſon*'s 'among the negroes.

This confeſſion was very ſcanty, and as it came from her with much difficulty, and great reluctancy, it gave little or

* Meaning into the conſpiracy, which was the ſubject matter ſhe was examined upon. † Alias Ury, the prieſt. ‡ Vaarck's. ‖ Probably meaning Schutz; whom the deſcription ſeems ſomewhat to ſuit.

no ſatisfaction; and beſides it was ſaid, (after ſhe was returned to jail) ſhe retracted the little ſhe ſaid, and denied ſhe had any knowledge of a conſpiracy: ſo that after all, the judges thought themſelves under a neceſſity, of ordering her execution, as the laſt experiment, to bring her to a diſpoſition to unfold this infernal ſecret; at leaſt, ſo much of it, as might be thought deſerving a recommendation of her, as an object of mercy.

Supreme Court.

THURSDAY, 9th JULY.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Juſtice.*

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING,

*againſt*

Scipio, } *Negroes.*
Fortune, }

SCIPIO and *Fortune* being brought to the bar, deſired leave to retract their plea of *not guilty*; leave was given, and they pleaded *guilty*, and ſubmitted to mercy.

The KING,

*againſt*

Quamino, *and* forty one *other negroes.*

THE following negroes having been ſeverally convicted of the conſpiracy, were put to the bar, *viz.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Quamino*, | Pemberton's, | *Mars*, | Benſon's, |
| *Toby*, | Breaſted's, | *Primus*, | De Broſſe's, |
| *Will*, | Ten Eyck's, | *Titus*, | Phœnix's, |
| *Warwick*, | Hunt's, | *Lewis*, | Schuyler's, |
| *Tom*, | Soumain's, | *Tonneau*, | Vaarck's, |
| *Deptford*, | Mr. Mayor's, | *Scotland*, | Marſton's, |
| *Will*, | Luſh's, | *Worceſter*, | Varian's, |
| *York*, | Peck's, | *Jamaica*, | Elliſon's, |
| *Scipio*, | Van Borſom's, | *Patrick*, | Engliſh's, |
| *Guy*, | Horſefield's, | *Scipio*, | Abrahamſe's |
| *Cato*, | Benſon's, | *Fortune*, | Clarkſon's, |
| *Tony*, | Brazier's, | *Cæſar*, | Pintard's, |
| *Scipio*, | Bound's, | *Fortune*, | Wilkins's, |
| *Cæſar* | Kortrecht's, | *Tom*, | Moore's, |
| *Jack*, | Abrahamſe's, | *Pompey*, | Leffert's, |
| *Dundee*, | Todd's, | *London*, | Marſchalk's, |
| *Tom*, | Rowe's, | *Wan*, | Low's, |
| *Starling*, | Lawrence's, | *Will*, | Vaarck's, |
| | | | *York*, |

*York*, Crooke's, *Fortune*, Latham's,
*Bridgwater*, Van Horn's, *Mink*, Groesbeck's,
*London*, French's, *Jacob*, H. Rutgers's.

And being asked what they had to say, why sentence of death should not pass against them according to law? They all pleaded his Majesty's most gracious pardon upon condition of transportation, and prayed that the same might be read and allowed; and the same was read, and,

*Ordered* to be allowed; and that the masters of the said negroes or some one of them, do enter into recognizance before one of the justices of the court, in the penalty of fifty pounds each, to transport their negro according to the proviso in the pardon mentioned; and that the said recognizance be entered into before such negro be taken out of jail.

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

## *EXAMINATION*

*Before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. III.

*WILLIAM KANE* being duly sworn, says, 'That he knows *Edward Murphy*, now in jail, has seen him several times at *Hughson's*, and knows he was concerned in 'the late conspiracy to burn the fort and town, and kill and 'destroy the inhabitants; and has heard the said *Murphy* say, 'some time before the fort was burnt, when the negroes 'were talking at *Hughson's* about the conspiracy, d—n him, 'if he would not lend hand to the fire as soon as any body.

## *DEPOSITION*

*Before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. VI.

*MARY BURTON* being duly sworn, saith, 'That she has often seen *Edward Murphy* (now present) at 'the house of the late *John Hughson*, on *Hudson's* river: 'That she has often seen the said *Murphy* among the negroes 'at the said house, whilst they (the negroes) were plotting 'and conspiring to burn this city, and to kill and murder the 'inhabitants thereof; that she hath heard the said *Murphy* 'say, that he would help the said negroes and *Hughson*, to 'burn and destroy this city and inhabitants, and would give 'them the said *Hughson* and negroes all the assistance in his 'power.

Confirmed upon examination before the Grand Jur.

*DEPOSITION*

## DEPOSITION
*Before the Chief Juſtice.*
NUMB. IV.

WILLIAM KANE being duly ſworn, ſaith, 'That he hath often ſeen *David Johnſon*, hatter, (now therein to him) at *Hughſon*'s; particularly ſince laſt Chriſtmas, when there were ſeveral negroes preſent; that he was called from the company that came with him, into a room by *Hughſon* and *Jury* the prieſt, and ſtaid in the room a conſiderable time; and *Jerry Corker* told him the day the town was to be fired; that *Johnſon* ſaid, damn him if he would not be as ready as any other, and do his endeavour; and that the ſaid *Corker* told him, that he had ſaid ſo to *Johnſon*. That the fire was to be on St. *Patrick*'s night, if they could get their hands together.

## DEPOSITION
*Before the Chief Juſtice.*
NUMB. VII.

MARY BURTON being duly ſworn, ſaith, 'That *Andrew Ryan* lodged at *Hughſon*'s ſome time laſt winter, and ſhe has ſeen him with *Hughſon*, ſome white folks, *Cæſar* (Vaarck's) *Cuffee* (Philipſe's) and other negroes, when the diſcourſe was of the plot; and heard him ſay he would help them all he could.

Confirmed before the Grand Jury.

## DEPOSITION
*Before the grand Jury.*
NUMB. VIII.

MARY BURTON further depoſed, 1. 'That of white people who uſed to frequent *Hughſon*'s, were *Holt*, the dancing maſter, a little man (as ſhe believes is him) has ſeen him in court on the trial of the negroes.

2. '*John Earl* ſaid to her, when *Hogg*'s goods were found, he had rather have given twenty pounds than it was known, and threatened to kill her if ſhe diſcovered about the fire.

3. 'That *Murphy* once brought ſix or ſeven gold rings, and a gold locket or two, and gave them to *Hughſon*'s wife.

4. 'That ſhe has ſeen about ſeventeen ſoldiers at *Hughſon*'s with *John Earl*, and uſed to go up ſtairs and be with the negroes.

5. 'That *John Coffin* uſed alſo to be there.

*Examination*

*Examination of* William Kane, *before the Grand Jury.*

NUMB. V.

'AT the chriſt'ning; the prieſt, a countryman, *Coffin*, another man, three women and *Cerker*: The 'prieſt ſprinkled the child, and had ſalt on a plate, and rub-'bed the child's mouth with it. *Ury*, *Coffin*, and the other 'man acted as prieſts.

'That *Coffin* laſt ſaturday on the dock meeting him, aſk-'ed him if he would not go on board the privateer, for all 'would come out? To which *Kane* anſwered, that not he; 'for no one would tell, unleſs ſome blobbing raſcal might.

'*Quack* (Walter's) handed a knife to the prieſt [*Ury*] 'half unclaſped, who took it into the room with him, and 'afterwards returned to *Quack*.

Supreme Court.

*FRIDAY*, 10*th* JULY.

PRESENT,

*The chief Juſtice.*

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING

*againſt*

Sarah Hughſon.

ORDERED, that *Sarah Hughſon* be executed on the morrow, according to her former ſentence, between the hours of nine and one of the ſame day.

The KING

*againſt*

Sarah, BURK's, negro.

ORDERED that the execution of *Sarah* (Burk's) negro, be reſpited till ſaturday the 18th inſtant.

The KING

*againſt*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Quack, | WALTER's, | *Negroes.* |
| Othello, | | |
| Brave-Boy, | LIVINGSTON's, | |
| Galloway, | RUTGERS's, | |
| Harry, | MIZRALL's, | |

THE priſoners having been indicted for the conſpiracy, were arraigned, and *Othello*, *Quack*, and *Brave-boy*, pleaded *guilty*, and *Galloway* and *Harry*, *not guilty*.

The

The KING
*against*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cambridge, | Codwise's, | Negroes. |
| Cæsar, | Henderson's, | |
| Frank, | Ryker's, | |
| Toby, | H. Wendover's, | |

The prisoners were arraigned on the same indictment, and pleaded *not guilty*.

The KING
*against*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Quack, | Walter's, | Negroes. |
| Othello, | | |
| Braveboy, | Livingston's, | |

THE Prisoners having pleaded guilty, were set to the bar, and the court proceeded to pass sentence; which was, That *Quack* and *Othello* should be burnt, and *Braveboy* hanged.

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

## *DEPOSITION,*

*Taken before the chief Justice.*

JOHN SCHULTZ maketh oath, 'That a negro 'man slave, called *Cambridge*, belonging to *Christo-* 'pher Codwise, Esq; did, on the 9th of June last, confess 'to this deponent in the presence of the said Mr. *Codwise* 'and *Richard Baker*, That the confession he had made be- 'fore Messrs *Lodge* and *Nicholls*, was intirely false, *viz.* 'That he had owned himself guilty of the conspiracy, and 'had accused the negro of *Richard Baker*, called *Cajus*, 'through fear; and said, that he had heard some negroes 'talking together in the goal, that if they did not confess, 'they should be hanged; and that was the reason of his 'making that false confession: and that what he had said 'relating to Horsefield's *Cæsar* was a lie. That he did not 'know in what part of the town *Hughson* did live, nor did 'not remember to have heard of the man till it was a 'common talk over the town and country, that *Hughson* 'was concerned in a plot with the negroes *.

The

* A criminal confesses himself guilty at his own peril; it may be the only chance he has for saving his life; if he denies all and the crime is proved upon him, his case becomes desperate: but when once he confesses his guilt, it will be standing evidence against him.---The remark upon negro examinations once for all, is, that one can scarce be thoroughly satisfied when it is that they do speak truth, unless what they say be confirmed by concurring circumstances; and the very sight only of their masters may make them change their

*The examination of* Sarah Hughſon *the daughter, continued from page* 263. § 2.

*Before the* Chief Juſtice, *the* ſecond Juſtice, *and others.*

3. 'SHE believes the firſt time ſhe heard of the plot, to burn the city, and to murder maſter and miſtreſs, 'and if they could not prevail to murder, then to burn 'them up, was when they lived at *Ellis*'s dock, about a 'year ago; the negroes ſaid, they had white people to help 'them; *Kane* was there often, and came with ſeveral ne-'groes.'

their notes at any time, if they give them not advice and inſtructions with reſpect to their conduct, which there was too juſt reaſon to believe ſome of them did; and perhaps many of theſe wretches buoy'd themſelves up with the notion, that their maſters would at all hazards ſave them from the gallows, or tranſportation, if they could; eſpecially ſuch of the ſlaves as had been bred up to trades or handicrafts; they might flatter themſelves that the want of them would be a great prejudice and damage to their owners; as if for their ſakes, vile wretches, the whole town muſt run the riſque of their houſes being fired about their ears, and having the inhabitants butchered: but their having once confeſſed their guilt, a recantation and denial of it afterwards, will ſcarce be thought an argument of ſufficient force to prove their innocence.---The commiſſioners who tried the negro conſpirators upon the detection of the plot in Antigua, in the year 1736. in the report of their proceedings to their governor, have the following clauſe a propos to the aforegoing obſervations, § 20 ſay they, 'There were ſome ſteps not of a common 'kind taken by us in the courſe of our enquiry, which poſſibly might have 'been excepted to; two particulars; one, the trying the criminals privately, 'excluding all white perſons (more particularly the maſters of ſlaves) except-'ing the conſtables guarding the priſoners, and excepting twice or thrice 'where ſome gentlemen of figure (not maſters of any ſlaves under trial) were 'accidentally preſent; [the other not being material to the preſent purpoſe, is omitted] It goes on,---'As to the firſt, we had experienced the contrary 'method in the beginning, by trying ſome of the criminals openly; but the 'buſineſs being of a nature requiring the utmoſt diſpatch, we found our pro-'ceedings much retarded by the ſpectators aſking many queſtions of the priſo-'ners and witneſſes, and ſome of them not proper; we ſoon diſcovered too '(by ſome things that happened) how much maſters were prone to countenance 'and excuſe their ſlaves, and that ſlaves were emboldened by their maſter's 'preſence, and witneſſes intimidated; beſides we found ſecreſy neceſſary, 'which even oaths of ſecreſy might not have effectually procured, conſider-'ing human frailty and forgetfulneſs, and the common unguardedneſs of ſpeech 'moſt perſons are liable to; for ſometimes a dangerous criminal might be 'mentioned by witneſſes as parties accuſed in the courſe of the trial, and this 'might be talked of abroad, and occaſion flights and concealments, and other 'inconveniences not to be foreſeen.

In our own caſe, maſters and owners of ſlaves were admitted as witneſſes, which, all things conſidered, perhaps was too great an indulgence: it is a known rule of law in civil caſes, that a party intereſted in the event of a ſuit cannot be a witneſs; and by a parity of reaſon it may be concluded, that maſters of ſlaves in criminal caſes, ſhould not be witneſſes, eſpecially in matters of ſo much conſequence to the public; and if any ſuch like caſe ſhould hereafter happen, which God forbid, upon the reaſon of that rule, and the inconveniencies which have happened from this indulgence, it may be judged neceſſary to vary from that practice.

4. 'Said

4. 'Said she had seen *John Ury* the priest often there when 'the negroes were there, and speak to them; tell them 'to keep secrefy, and to be true, and not tell of one ano- 'ther, if they were to dye for it; that they should burn 'the town down; and in the night cut their masters and 'mistresses throats with knives they should get; told her not 'to discover what he said, if she did, he would be the death 'of her.

5. 'He christened *Cæsar*, Vaarck's; and others.

6. 'She was sworn by *Jury* * when *Kane* was, of a sun- 'day night, as things were generally done on sunday nights.

7. 'Did not know that *Andrew Ryan* was concerned, or '*David Johnson*.

8. 'Had seen *Murphy* often at the house since Christ- 'mas, when *Cæsar*, Vaarck's, asked him to drink a dram.

9. 'Had often heard the negroes, when they stood round 'a circle made with chalk † say, the devil fetch him, and 'burn him that discovered.

10. '*Quack*, Walter's, swore several times; the negroes 'swore without book; the whites swore by a bible ‡.

* Meaning again into the conspiracy: at the beginning of her examination, on wednesday the 8th instant, she only says she saw [William] Kane sworn on sunday evening; and now this agrees with Kane's examination N° II. § 6. p. 256. 'who says, they were sworn together at the second meeting 'which was of a sunday;' and she could scarce know that he had given such information; for he had done so but two or three days before, and his examination was not out of the judges or grand jury's hands; Kane and Sarah were confined in cells separate and distant from each other: but though her owning to the negro wench, that she was sworn into the conspiracy, was the occasion of the respite of her execution, and her being sent for, and examined by the judges; yet she owned no such thing upon her first examination; but now she does it with such circumstances, concurring with other evidence, as puts the truth of the matter beyond doubt, and thereby adds credit to the rest of her confession.

† Kane's examination, N° II. § 18. p. 259. gives an account of the ceremony of swearing the negroes in a circle drawn upon the floor; Kane there indeed calls it a ring, a black ring, and with him agrees Mary Burton in her evidence upon Ury's trial, the 29th of this month, who (as she had done at some of her examinations before) spoke of a black ring or circle upon the floor, with a circumstance attending it which at first seemed to be trifling, and not worth notice, therefore was not taken down.---See hereafter note upon her evidence at Ury's trial.

‡ This the reader may observe so many witnesses agreeing in, that reference to the particular places would be endless; not but that many instances also may be noted of the negroes swearing upon a book, according to the legal ceremony; which if not a bible, no doubt was intended to pass for one: but perhaps that formality was used with such of the negro confederates only, as had education and learning; as for the illiterate and ignorant, no doubt these infernal politicians were of opinion that swearing by thunder and lightning (which are the terrible oaths commonly used among themselves) would as effectually engage them to their hellish purpose.

11. 'Jury

11. 'Jury the priest told her, and her father, he could 'forgive their sins, if they did not discover *.

12. 'Peggy [executed] was sworn, and was a *Roman*.

13. 'Jury told us all, that he could forgive our sins, if 'we did any misdemeanour; and said, if she would confess 'to him, he would forgive her her sins, which was done; 'and he could forgive all of them, what they were to do in 'this BUSINESS of the plot; and thinks he made her fa-'ther and mother papists. He used to christen negroes at 'several times.

14. 'Negroes said they went to him, and said he prayed 'for them.

15. 'Jury said, if they discovered all their sins to him 'he could forgive them; she said that none but God could, 'if they prayed to him; he said a priest could, as well as G-d.

16. 'John Coffin being shewn to her, she said she had 'not seen him before.

## SATURDAY, 11th JULY.

SARAH HUGHSON being brought before the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice *Philipse*, and Mr. *Chambers*, this morning in order for further examination; she denied all that she had confessed, and was taken down from her, as before on the 8th and 10th instant: she said she had seen negroes at her father's house, but did not know of a plot. —She being immediately thereupon exhorted by those gentlemen to speak the truth, then declared every particular in the foregoing examination (except the retractation which was minuted upon it) to be true, as the same was distinctly read to her by Mr. *Chambers*,, and the question particularly put to her.

Supreme Court.

PRESENT,

*The second Justices.*

The KING *against* Sarah Hughson.

Ordered, That the execution of *Sarah Hughson* be respited till friday next †.

The

* But if they did discover——So that according to this diabolical system, no oaths are available to hold their votaries---but such as bind themselves in a curse to do iniquity.

† From the untoward behaviour of this wretch upon her examinations, the reader

The KING
*against*
Sam. *Col.* COURTLANDT, *esqr.*

THE prisoner *Sam.* desired leave of the court to withdraw his plea, and plead guilty; which being granted, he pleaded *guilty*, and submitted to the mercy of the court.

Court adjourned till thursday the 14th instant, ten o'clock in the morning.

*SUNDAY, 12th* JULY.

*Othello's confession, under sentence of death.*
*Before one of the Judges.*
NUMB. II.

1. HE *said*, 'That about the beginning of last summer, 'Albany brought meat to his master's house, and 'asked him to go and drink a dram with him, which he consenting to, *Albany* carried him to *Hughson*'s, where *Albany* called for liquor; and as *Hughson* did not bring it to 'them immediately, he, *Albany*, went into the house, and 'brought out a two-penny dram to *Othello* in the yard; '*Albany* told him that *Hughson* desired him, *Othello*, to stay 'a little, for he wanted to speak with him; *Othello* said he 'could not stay then, but that he would come there in 'the evening.

2. 'He went again about dusk in the evening, and *Albany* was not there; *Hughson* and *Othello* began to talk 'about the plot; and *Hughson* would fain have made him 'swear; but he refused, saying, another time would do as 'well: *Hughson* told him, if he would swear, he should never want for liquor, it should not cost him any thing; 'and desired he would bring his acquaintance with him, 'and he would make them welcome; he thanked him, 'and went home: was at *Hughson*'s about an hour.

3. 'The 30th of October last, *Albany* brought meat 'to his master's house, and then asked *Othello* whether he

reader will be apt to conclude, there could be little or no dependance upon her veracity, or her evidence at best would deserve but slender credit; and indeed the case would have been so, if her testimony had stood single, and not corroborated by many other witnesses to the same facts, and concurring circumstances attending; though from her stubborn deportment, it must be owned very small service was expected from her; for she discovered so irreclaimable untractable a temper, that it was to be expected she would recal again and again, as she had done already, what she seemed to deliver at times, with some composure and appearance of sincerity.

would

'would go to dinner at *Hughſon*'s, the drummers being to 'have a feaſt there that day*? He anſwered, that his 'maſter was to be at home that day, and that he could 'not go.

4. '*Albany* often brought meat there, and would always 'aſk him to go and drink at *Hughſon*'s; and as opportunity 'ſerved, ſometimes he went, and ſometimes not.

5. 'About a year ago he went one evening down to the 'north river to ſwim, and there met with *Albany*; they 'went into *Hughſon*'s, and he made them a tankard of punch; '*Hughſon* endeavoured again to make them ſwear, and 'brought a book to him; he ſtill put it off; then *Hughſon* 'told him, if he would not, he, *Othello*, muſt not tell any 'body what he had been talking about.

6. 'He has ſeen many ſoldiers at *Hughſon*'s at different 'times, very great with *Hughſon*, but cannot tell whether 'they knew or were concerned in the plot; but knows 'that *Kane* was one of them †, and believes, he, *Kane*, can 'name the reſt: *Hughſon* promiſed *Othello* to find him a 'gun and cutlaſs, and told him, if he did any damage, he 'would commit no ſin thereby: *Othello* underſtood, it would 'not hinder him from going to heaven.

7. 'Vaarck's *Cæſar* told *Othello*, that Rutgers's *Quaſh* 'was to find arms: Mr. Philipſe's *Cuffee* was likewiſe ſpoke 'to by *Othello*, about the conſpiracy, and aſked whether he 'was ſworn? *Cuffee* anſwered yes, are not you? *Othello* 'ſaid no, I have only promiſed to keep the ſecret. Said, 'he had not ſpoke to any one ſince about it.

8. '*Adam* told *Othello* (ſince their being in the goal) 'that he, *Adam*, was to have killed his maſter and miſtreſs 'ſure enough; and adviſed *Othello* to confeſs, that he was 'to have killed his maſter and miſtreſs, that that would be 'a means of getting him off.

## *Confeſſion of* Quack, WALTER's *negro, under ſentence of death, Before one of the Judges.*

### NUMB. III.

1. HE ſaid, 'That *Cuffee*, Philipſe's negro, *Cæſar*, 'Vaarck's, *Prince*, Auboyneau's, and himſelf, went

* The militia drummers, who were negroes, idle fellows no doubt; ſidkin of that colour, many drummers, and others, were tempted by Hughſon's great hoſpitality: 'tis ſomewhat amazing! how Hughſon, a poor cobler, with a wife and houſe full of children, and ſcarce any viſible buſineſs, or means of ſubſiſtence, ſhould be able to ſupport ſuch extraordinary generoſity.

† And Kane it ſeems knew well that he was.

'down to *Hughſon's*; that *Cæſar* called for a bowl of punch; 'they drank it together, and *Cuffee*, *Cæſar*, and *Prince* 'afterwards went out together and talked, while he [*Quack*] 'ſtood upon the threſhold of the door; *Quack* called to 'them, and aſked if they would go, for it was almoſt night? 'they ſaid they had ſome buſineſs to do, *Quack* went away: 'This was laſt May was twelve months.

2. 'That another time he went to *Hughſon's*, by himſelf, 'and met the three ſame negroes as before; *Cuffee* was play- 'ing on a violin; they had one tankard of egg-punch, and 'another of water, ſugar, and rum; they ſat in the par- 'lour; Vaarck's *Cæſar* called for a pack of cards, they 'played a conſiderable time, and *Quack* won two or three 'bowls of punch, which Mrs. *Hughſon* made, and they 'paid for: they got pretty merry with drinking; Philip- 'ſe's *Frank* came in, and called for a mug of beer, but 'did not ſtay, his boat being at the dock juſt by: Mr. 'Van Dam's *John* came in, and ſat a while and drank with 'them, and afterwards went away: as ſoon as *Frank* and '*John* were gone, *Cæſar*, Vaarck's, ſaid, come *Quack*, 'I want you for ſomething; but you muſt ſwear not to tell 'it; *Quack* ſaid, I'll be curſt if I do; they ſaid, they did 'not care to truſt *Frank* or *John*, nor many others, who 'were all apt to talk; but if he would agree to their pro- 'poſal, it would be better for him; and that when he came 'there he ſhould never want liquor; *Peggy* was preſent dur- 'ing this diſcourſe, and went out to call *Hughſon*; *Hughſon* 'then came into the room, and ſwore *Quack*; *Hughſon* him- 'ſelf, *Cæſar*, *Cuffee* and *Prince*, ſwore at the ſame time, 'to encourage him to ſwear; they all kiſſed a book; they 'then told *Quack* of the plot; and *Hughſon* aſked him, if 'his maſter had any guns? *Quack* anſwered two, which 'he could get: *Hughſon* told him, he had powder and 'ſhot enough, and that he had bought ſome guns, and had 'money to buy more; and told him there were people up 'the river, and on the other ſide [the water] that were to 'come and help: *Quack* aſked whether they were blacks or 'whites? *Hughſon* ſaid, he knew them, and that was ſuffi- 'cient: *Quack* underſtood by his diſcourſe, they were whites.

3. '*Quack* remembers to have ſeen a gun hanging up at '*Hughſon's*, likewiſe a bag of large ſhot, about five inches 'high and four broad.

4. 'They had another bowl of punch, which *Hughſon* 'treated with, and at the ſame time told *Quack*, that if he

'would

'would bring any company there with him, he would make 'them welcome. This meeting was in the ſame month as 'the firſt meeting: ſome on a Saturday night; he went in 'about duſk, and ſtaid 'till twelve.

5. 'Two Sundays after, *Ceſar*, *Quack* [himſelf] and 'one other negro (who he did not know) were at *Hughſon*'s, but called meeting of it at that time.

6. 'Capt. *Marſhall*'s *Ben* aſked him, eight or nine times, 'to go to *Hughſon*'s with him; but ſays he never went with '*Ben* any where.

7. 'Since new-year *Albany* told *Quack*, that they had a 'ſupper at *Hughſon*'s, and that a great many negroes were 'there preſent.

8. 'Some time this ſpring *Adam* ſent *Jack* to invite '*Quack* to come to his maſter's, that *Adam* wanted very 'much to ſpeak to him; *Quack* being at Mr. *Richard*'s 'with his wife, refuſed to go; but knew not what buſineſs '*Adam* had with him.

9. 'While *Quack* was in goal, Vaarck's *Ceſar*, who was 'alſo in the ſame goal, told *Quack*, that *Hughſon*, *Peggy*, 'and himſelf, had had a ſupper at the houſe of one *Saunders*, 'upon the dock; and from *Ceſar*'s diſcourſe, he, *Quack*, 'underſtood that *Saunders* was concerned in the plot *.

10. '*Ceſar* likewiſe told him, he had buried money 'ſomewhere near *Hughſon*'s, but no one knew of it but 'himſelf.

## *MONDAY*, 13*th* JULY.

The four following examinations were taken this day before one of the judges, Mr. *Nicholls* and Mr. *Lodge* preſent, when the ſeveral negroes they affected were paſſed in review before and pickt out by the witneſſes.

*Examination taken againſt* Quaſh, LEROUX's.

I. *William Kane*, *Baſtian*, *Tickle*, and *Sandy*, ſaid, that 'Quaſh was ſworn at *Hughſon*'s, and at *Comfort*'s too into 'the plot.

*Examination taken againſt* Tom, VALET's.

II. *Kane*, *Burton*, and *Baſtian*, ſaid, 'That *Tom* was 'often at *Hughſon*'s when they talked of the plot, and 'conſented, and was ſworn there in *Kane*'s preſence.

*Examination taken againſt* Jupiter, capt. WALTON's.

III. *Kane*, *Burton*, and *Baſtian*, ſaid, 'That *Jupiter* 'was often at *Hughſon*'s when they talked of the plot, and 'conſented, and was active.



* This fellow never apprehended.

*Examination taken against* Dublin, *negro*. W

IV. *Burton* ſaid, 'That *Dublin* was at [illegible]
'talked of the plot, and he conſented.

*Examination of* Baſtian, *negro, before one of the*

NUMB. II.

1. *BASTIAN* being further examined, ſaith, 'That 'when he was at that great entertainment at *Hugh-'ſon*'s, on the ſunday about a month or ſix weeks before the 'fort burnt, he heard *Hughſon* call over *Quack* (Vaarck's) 'name in a liſt; and ſaid that he was to have been there; 'he alſo heard *Cuff* (Jamiſon's) name twice called out of 'the ſaid liſt *, but he did not appear. *Hughſon* called all 'the negroes names over by a liſt, and the negroes preſent 'anſwered thereto; and whenever *Hughſon* made any par-'ticular appointment of a meeting, it was uſual for him to 'call over their names by the liſt, and thoſe preſent anſwered.

2. 'That he has ſeen the ſaid *Quack* at *Hughſon*'s ſeve-'ral times, and once in particular, ſome time laſt ſummer, 'when *Hughſon*, his wife and daughter *Sarah*, and *Peggy* 'were preſent, and alſo Vaarck's *Cæſar*; and *Quack* was 'complaining to *Hughſon* and them, that he had brought 'to *Hughſon*'s fourteen or fifteen firkins of butter, which 'Peggy was to receive the money of *Hughſon* for (he being 'to ſell the butter, and as he, *Baſtian*, underſtood, had ſold 'it to the *Cuba* veſſels) and that he, *Quack*, was cheated out 'of that money; and that he had alſo given *Peggy* a five 'pound bill to change; and ſhe had likewiſe cheated him 'out of that; and *Quack* was very angry about it; and 'Peggy ſaid, ſhe had given the money to ſome of his con-'ſorts to give him (to a white man) that he knew very well, 'but that he was gone off with it.

3. 'That he knows one *Frans* † a free negro, a butcher, 'that lived at Mr. *Bayard*'s farm at *Hobocck*, he ſaw him 'at *Hughſon*'s ſeveral times, and particularly he was at *Hugh-'ſon*'s at the entertainment above mentioned, when they 'were all talking about the plot, and he joined with them, 'and talked as much about it as any of the reſt, but don't 'know whether he was ſworn of it.

4. 'That he has ſeen *Kane* the ſoldier at *Hughſon*'s ſe-'veral times when negroes were there; and once, ſhortly 'after new-year, he ſaw the ſaid *Kane* and *Hughſon* a writ-'ing in company of negroes, and as far as he could under-

* This negro alſo eſcaped us. † Nor was this negro ever taken up.

'ſtand,

'ſtand, they were copying over a liſt of the perſons con-
'cerned in the conſpiracy; but ſaid, that generally when
'he came to *Hughſon*'s, and white people were there, he
'uſed to go away: but one day ſeeing *Kane* at *Hughſon*'s,
'and having ſeen him there ſeveral times before, he aſked
'*Hughſon*'s wife what that man did there? She anſwered,
'that he need not be afraid of him, he would not betray
'them in any thing.

5. 'Has heard *Billy* (Ward's negro, executed) ſay, that
'they (the negroes) had a frolick in the Broad-way at a
'ſoldier's, where were preſent a *Roman* prieſt, and *Quack*,
'(Walter's) amongſt other negroes; and that the prieſt
'ſwore the negroes of the plot; and ſaid, he could forgive
'them all the ſins that they did.

6. 'That the negro boy *Cato*, Mr. Richard's; and *Nep-*
'*tune*, Mr. Cruger's, (as *Bill*, Ward's, told the examinant)
'were at the laſt mentioned meeting.

The following notes were taken upon the examination of *Mary Burton* and *William Kane* this day, before one of the judges, which in the hurry of buſineſs were omitted to be drawn up in form.

*Mary Burton* ſaid,

1. 'That *John Earl* who lived in the Broad-way uſed to come
'to *Hughſon*'s with nine or ten ſoldiers at a time.

2. '*Hughſon* uſed to go to *Kelly*'s [the ſoldier's] houſe,
'and has ſeen *Kelly* at *Hughſon*'s, and uſed to be amongſt
'the negroes, when they were talking of the fires.

3. 'An old man, a very old man, believes not a ſoldier,
'in old clothes, ſometimes a red jacket, does not know
'his name, he uſed to be great amongſt the negroes, when
'talking about fires.

4. 'The white men were to have companies of negroes
'under them, and *Hughſon* told them they might order their
'companies as they thought fit; and *Jury* [*Ury*] the prieſt,
'uſed to be with them.

5. 'A ſoldier lives at the houſe behind the *Engliſh* church-
'yard was concerned in the plot*; the ſoldiers uſed to come
'to his houſe; and *Hughſon* uſed to go up there and fetch
'them down to his.

6. 'A man by the mayor's market, lived at the ſhop
'where ſhe uſed to fetch rum from, ſuch another as *Kane*,

* This man never taken, though the deſcription of him very circumſtantial.

'and dreſſed like him, but of a Sunday * uſed to have [illegible] clothes; don't know his name, lived in a [illegible] oppoſite the market.

7. 'She has gone with *Sarah* (the daughter of [illegible] meaning) to a houſe beyond capt. *Marſhall*'s, [illegible] for to fetch ſoldiers down to *Hughſon*'s; the [illegible] himſelf, not concerned as ſhe knows.

8. 'John Earl, at the time that *Hoyt*'s goods were diſcovered, met her in the ſtreet, and ſaid, he had rather have given twenty pounds than that the diſcovery had been made of them: but that, if ſhe (*Mary Burton*) diſcovered any thing about the fires, he would be the death of her.'

9. 'A doctor that lived by the ſlip, ſhe took him to be a *Scotchman*, uſed often to be at *Hughſon*'s ſince the [illegible] men gone.

10. 'That ſhe had ſeen another dancing maſter along with *Holt*, and *Kane*, at *Hughſon*'s, talking about the plot, above ſtairs, and ſaw ſeveral negroes with them.'

[She ſtammered at his name, and pronounced, a C ſeveral times, which ſhe ſaid ſhe believed was the firſt letter of his name; and though it was known by the judge, and thoſe that were preſent, whom ſhe muſt neceſſarily mean, yet he choſe ſhe ſhould recollect the name if ſhe could; at laſt ſhe ſaid he lived——— [This being in the aſſembly room, ſhe pointed to the ſtreet] in Wall-ſtreet———; ſhe ſaid ſhe ſhould know his name if ſhe heard it; and we not knowing of any other dancing maſter in town, or any that pretended or profeſſed themſelves to be ſuch, but this man, who did live in that ſtreet; ſhe was aſked whether his name was *Corry*? And ſhe readily anſwered, that was his name; and that ſhe ſhould know him again if ſhe ſaw him.]

Then *Mary Burton* was ſent into the next room, and *William Kane* ſent for.

*William Kane* being aſked whether he knew of any other dancing maſter beſides *Holt* (mentioned by him ſeveral times before) that was amongſt them at *Hughſon*'s, when they were talking of the plot? *Kane* inſtantly anſwered, 'there was *Piers*'s ſon-in-law, who lived in that ſtreet [pointing alſo to Wall-ſtreet] who uſed to be amongſt them, and was concerned in the plot,'———

* Sunday was generally the day, as the reader may have obſerved from the courſe of the evidence, that the conſpirators met at Hughſon's, which his daughter Sarah confirms in her examination.

† This fellow never taken.

Then *Kane* was sent away.

Both these witnesses were sworn to the truth of what they declared.

'Whereupon a constable was dispatched for *Corry*, who 'was soon brought, and the following examination taken 'down, which *Corry* signed.

## *EXAMINATION,*

*Before one of the Judges,*

*JOHN CORRY* being examined saith, 'That he ne-'ver was at *Hughson*'s house in his life.

'Never spoke a word to *Hide* in his life, never was in 'his company *.

'*S—b* he was acquainted with, and has been in his com-'pany several times, but never at *Hughson*'s, nor any other 'place on the north river, within this city.

*John Corry.*

Then *Mary Burton* was sent for, and when she came, she shook her head at the sight of the man, and being asked upon the oath she had taken, whether she had seen that man before, and what she knew of him? She declared to his face to the effect of the 9 § of the aforesaid notes of her examination concerning him. But *Corry* stoutly denied all she said, and declared he had never seen her before, at which the girl laughed.

Then *Mary* was dismissed, and *William Kane* sent for, and confronted with *Corry*, and he charged him with the same he had declared before; but *Corry* knew him not.

*Corry* was committed.

The following negroes committed this day, *viz. Jupiter* and *Dublin*, Walton's: *Quash*, La Roux's, recommitted, who had been enlarged upon the Grand Jury's recommendation the 16th instant, as not finding sufficient evidence at that time whereon to form an indictment against him.

* Though as the proverb is, two of a trade can seldom agree, 'tis much, very much, that these two dancing masters, living in the same town, for four or five years together, should not have had one wrangle, or exchange one word neither in anger or civility, in all that time.---Surely he endeavours to prove too much, for they might possibly have talked together very innocently.

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY*, 14th JULY.

PRESENT,

*The chief Juſtice.*

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING
*againſt*
Quack, WALTER's, } Negroes.
Othello,

Ordered, that the execution of *Quack* and *Othello* be on thurſday next, the ſixteenth inſtant, between the hours of two and ſeven of the afternoon of the ſame day.

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning nine o'clock.

*Examination of* John Ury, *before the chief juſtice and third juſtice, apprehended upon ſuſpicion of being a* Romiſh *prieſt, and a confederate in the conſpiracy.*

'JOHN URY, ſchool-maſter, 'denies being any wiſe 'concerned in the conſpiracy for burning the town and 'killing the inhabitants: ſays, that he never was any wiſe 'acquainted with *John Hughſon*, or his wife, or *Margaret* 'Kerry, nor did he ever ſee them in his life, to his know-'ledge.

*John Ury.*

## *DEPOSITION.*
NUMB. IX.

*MARY BURTON*, before the Grand-Jury, being firſt ſworn, ſaid, That white people that uſed to 'come to *Hughſon*'s, and being in company with thoſe who 'talked about the fires, &c. were *Carry* the dancing-maſter. '*Alanor* * an old Man. Once he fought with one *Bu-'chell* there, and the negroes aſked him to be concerned, 'and he ſaid, yes; but ſhe thought he might be in liquor.

## *EXAMINATION*
*Before the Grand Jury.*
NUMB. V.

*William Kane*, being duly ſworn.

1. 'SAID, 'That *Edward Murphy* he had ſeen many 'times at *Hughſon*'s, when they were talking of the 'fires and burning of the town, and that he ſwore d---n

* Who this meant is not diſcovered.

'him,

'him, if he would not lend an hand to the fire as ſoon as 'any body; and that at the ſame meeting all the company 'were ſpeaking about killing the white people.

2. 'That *David Johnſon* came one evening to *Hughſon*'s, 'with three women, a little (as he imagined) in liquor. That '*Ury*, the prieſt, took *Johnſon* by the ſhoulder when he 'came in, and carried him to another room, where ſome 'negroes were. That he (*Johnſon*) came in a ſhort time out 'of the room, and took the examinant by the ſhoulder, and 'ſaid, d--n ye, don't be down hearted, never fear, for we 'ſhall have money enough by-and-by; and that immedi-'ately he ſwore, in the room that he came into, in the pre-'ſence of the company, that he would help to burn the town, 'and kill as many white people as he could; and that both '*Murphy* and *Johnſon* were that night ſworn into the plot; 'and that old *Hughſon*, and three of his ſons were ſworn 'the ſame night.

3. 'That one *Corry*, a dancing-maſter, was frequently 'at *Hughſon*'s and often in company with the prieſt: That 'he has heard *Corry* ſay, that he would aſſiſt to burn the 'fort; and that he was frequently in company with the ne-'groes, when *Hughſon* and they uſed to talk of burning the 'town and killing of the white people.

4. 'That *Holt*, the dancing-maſter, was frequently at '*Hughſon*'s, in company with the *Prieſt*: That he never 'heard any of them ſay, that they would aſſiſt at burning of 'the houſes and killing of the people; but that both were 'in the room where ſome negroes were ſworn, and where 'burning of the town and killing of the people was ſpoke of 'in ſo free and publick a manner, that he had reaſon to be-'lieve that both of them heard all that was ſaid on that ſub-'ject.

5. 'That *John Caſſin*, *Terry Corker*, *Daniel Fugen*, *John* '*Ury*, the prieſt, *Thomas Hughſon* the father, and his three 'ſons, were all in the conſpiracy.

6. 'That a young gentleman with a pigtail wig, uſed 'frequently to come there with *Corry*, *Ury* the prieſt, and '*Holt*; but never ſaw him in company with any ne-'groes, as thoſe other white people uſed to be, when he was 'abſent.

Supreme

Supreme Court.

WEDNESDAY, 15th JULY, A. M.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Justice,*
*The second and third Justices.*

The KING
*against*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cato, | Col. MOORE's, | Negroes. |
| Dick, | TEN EYCK's, | |
| Prince, | CROOKE's, | |
| Pompey, | DE LANCEY's, | |
| Cuffee, | VAUGHTON's, | |

THE prisoners were arraigned on an indictment for the conspiracy, and thereto pleaded *guilty*; and in arrest of judgment produced his Majesty's most gracious pardon on condition of transportation; which was read and allowed of.

The KING
*against*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Brash, | JAY's, | Negroes. |
| Pompey, | BAYARD's, | |
| Cajoe, | GOMEZ's, | |
| Emanuel, | WENDOVER's, | |
| London, | WINCOOP's, | |
| Brave-Boy, | LIVINGSTON's, | |
| Pompey, | GILBERT's, | |
| Sam, | COURTLANDT's, | |
| Sarah, | BURK's, | |

THE prisoners being brought to the bar, and asked what they had to say, why judgment of death should not pass upon them; they produced, and severally pleaded his Majesty's most gracious pardon; which being read, was allowed of.

Court adjourned to three o'clock in the afternoon.

*P. M.*

PRESENT, *as before.*

The KING
*against*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tom, | HYER's, | Negroes, |
| Venture, | TIEBOUT's, | |
| Jasper, | BOUND's, | |
| Fortune, | WALTON's, | |
| Dr. Harry, | MIZERALL's, | |
| Galloway, | RUTGERS's, | |
| Frank, | RYKER's, | |
| Toby, | WENDOVER's, | |

On

*On trial upon the indictment for the conspiracy.*

Jury called and sworn, viz.

*Joseph Backer*, *Cornelius Clopper*,
*Thomas Willet*, *Alexander Allaire*,
*Richard Langdon*, *John Smith*,
*John Provoost*, *Peter Bonnefoy*,
*Charles Ircling*, *Patrick Jackson*,
*Marinus Bunker*, *Benjamin De Lamar*.

Witnesses for the KING.

*Mary Burton*, } Sworn.
*William Kane*, }

*Brass*,
*Tom*, Livingston's,
*Bastian*,
*Frelle*, } Negroes.
*Dick*, Ten Eyck's,
*Adam*,

Witnesses for the prisoners.

*Jacob Walton*, Fortune's master.
*Harmanus Wendover*, Toby's master.

Mr. MURRAY,
Mr. SMITH,
Mr. CHAMBERS, } Of council for the KING.

Mr. *Murray*, after the indictment was opened, examined the witnesses against *Tom*, *Venture* and *Jasper*.

*Notes taken of the evidence upon this trial.*

*Mary Burton* said, 'That *Tom* was at *Hughson*'s when 'they were talking about the fires; but did not remember 'whether he talked to them. She saw him there twice or 'thrice. He went up stairs with *Hughson* once; did not 'know what he did there.

'That she had seen *Venture* at *Hughson*'s talking about 'the plot several times; said he would set the houses a fire, 'and he was to have a pistol.

'That she did not know that she had seen *Jasper* at '*Hughson*'s.

*Brass* said, 'That he went with *Tom*, and Mr. Jay's '*Ben* to *Hughson*'s, and they went up stairs; and saw *Tom* 'sworn of the plot, *viz.* to burn the town and destroy the 'white people; that he (*Brass*) asked *Tom* first if he would be 'concerned, and he said, yes; and he (*Brass*) told *Hughson* 'so; and so *Tom* was sworn.

'That he did not know any thing of *Jasper* or *Venture*,

*William*

*William Kane* upon his evidence gave a general account how he was let into the plot, about *Jerry Corker*, and his going to a *Romish* christening, as in his examination of the 5th inſtant.

Said, 'He had ſeen *Tom* at *Hughſon's*, and he was ſworn 'of the plot. Had ſeen him two or three times there. He 'was ſworn to burn the town and kill the white people: 'He was ſworn by thunder and lightning, that if he divulged the ſecret, that might ſtrike him dead.

'That he had ſeen *Venture* at *Hughſon's* when they were 'talking about the plot; and he was to help; but he did 'not ſee him ſworn. That he ſaw him ſeveral times there 'ſince Chriſtmas.

'That he had likewiſe ſeen *Jaſper* at *Hughſon's* when 'they were talking about the plot. He ſaw him there the 'laſt ſunday in *February*. Did not ſee him ſworn; he (*Kane*) 'was drinking there; nor did he hear him conſent.

*Tom* (Livingſton's) ſaid, 'he told *Venture* that the white 'men wanted him to join to help to kill the white people; 'and he anſwered *Tom*, he would go down to *Hughſon's*. 'He ſaid, this was laſt ſpring was twelve months that he 'told *Venture* this.

'That *Jaſper* talked to him (the witneſs) about killing 'the white people, and promiſed to go to *Hughſon's* to 'ſwear to kill the white people; but he did not ſee him af-'terwards.

*Baſtian* ſaid, 'he ſaw *Venture* at *Hughſon's* ſeveral times 'playing at dice; and he was talking about the conſpiracy 'to ſet the town on fire, and to kill the white people, and 'he conſented, and was to have a gun of *Hughſon*.

Mr. *Smith* examined the witneſſes againſt *Fortune*, Dr. *Harry* and *Galloway*.

*Tom*, Livingſton's, ſaid, 'he aſked *Fortune* to go to '*Hughſon's* to ſee the fun there; he anſwered, he would 'go if he had time.

*Kane* ſaid, 'he had ſeen *Fortune* at *Hughſon's* when they 'were talking about the plot, but did not ſee him ſworn, 'nor did he hear him conſent; there was a dozen or four-'teen negroes there dancing; *Hughſon* propoſed the plot to 'the negroes preſent, to kill the white people, and burn 'the town, in the hearing of *Fortune*, but whether he con-'ſented or not, he did not know.

*Kane* ſaid, 'he ſaw *Doctor Harry* ſworn at *Hughſon's*, in-'to the plot; that he ſwore at all meetings; and he reſolved

'to

'to help the negroes to combuſtible matter to fire the houſes, 'and did help them to ſome black ſtuff for that purpoſe; he 'was to furniſh them with powder; he gave *Hughſon* ſome, 'and ſome to *Quack* (Walter's) and the doctor cried, hur-'ray for *Guanes* boys, for he had *Guanas* * boys enough.

*Kane* ſaid, 'that the time appointed among them to ſet 'the town on fire, was the 17th day of *March* at night; 'St. *Patrick*'s day.

*Kane* ſaid, '*Hughſon* uſed the ceremony of ſwearing ne-'groes into the plot, by making a circle on the floor with 'chalk, or ſomething, and then he made the negroes pull 'off their ſhoe off the left foot, and put their toes into the 'circle, and as a negro was ſworn, *Hughſon*'s wife fed the 'negro with a draught out of a bowl of punch.

*Kane* ſaid, 'He had ſeen *Galloway* ſeveral times at *Hugh-'ſon*'s; that he ſaid he would lend a hand, d—n him if he 'would not, to deſtroy the town, and murder the inhabi-'tants, and would make breeches for his maſter; that he 'underſtood from ſome negroes, that *Galloway* was ſworn 'of the plot, but *Kane* did not ſee him ſworn.

*Baſtian* ſaid, 'he heard *Fortune* ſay at *Hughſon*'s, before 'all the company, that he would join in the plot; it was ſome 'time ſoon after new-year, there were fourteen or fifteen 'negroes there to ſet the town on fire, and kill the people; '*Baſtian* heard him talk to doctor *Harry*, and tell him there 'was a particular houſe, where all the negroes concerned 'in the conſpiracy met, and could have victuals and drink 'for nothing.

'That he ſaw *Galloway* at *Hughſon*'s, and he there pro-'miſed to help ſet the town on fire, and kill the white 'people.

*Mary Burton* ſaid, 'ſhe had ſeen three or four papers of 'poiſon in *Hughſon*'s drawers, which ſhe underſtood he had 'had of ſome negro; that ſhe heard *Cæſar* (Vaarck's) and 'Cuffee (Philipſe's) and *Prince* (Auboyneau's) ſay, that 'Galloway was ſworn in the plot.

*Adam* ſaid, 'he heard doctor *Harry* talk to *Hughſon* a-'bout poiſon that he would give him; that doctor *Harry* 'conſented to the burning the town and killing the people 'in *Adam*'s hearing; that he ſaw doctor *Harry* four times 'at *Hughſon*'s, twice he was in the houſe with him, and 'twice he ſaw him go in; that he ſaw him ſworn the firſt 'time, by *Hughſon*.

* The name of the place where the doctor lived.

*Tickle*

*Tiebe* said 'he saw *Galloway* sworn at *Hughson's*, and that
'to help set houses on fire, *Galloway* was to [illegible]
'and he was to kill the people.

Mr. *Chambers* examined the witnesses against *Frank* and *Toby*.

*Dick*, Ten Eyck's, said, 'he told both *Frank*, and *Toby*
'about the plot, and asked them to be concerned, and they
'say yes, they agree to it; and he [the witness] was to tell
'them to go to *Hughson's*, but never did; he was to tell
'them to go to *Hughson's*, when the time of the fires was
'to come.

*Mary Burton* said, 'she had seen him at *Hughson's*, heard
'him say, he would help to burn the town, and destroy all
'the people.

'That she had seen *Toby* several times at *Hughson's*, and
'he said much the same as the other, he consented to be one
'of the plot.

*Bastian* said, 'he had seen *Frank* at *Hughson's* several
'times, heard him say, he would help to burn the town and
'destroy the white people, this at two different times.

*Kane* said, 'he had seen *Frank* very often at *Hughson's*,
'saw him sworn of the plot, and was with *Ury*; he was to
'burn the city, and kill the people; there were several other
'negroes with the priest: This was last winter; *Galloway*
'and doctor *Harry* were with him at the same time; *Frank*
'used to say he would be capt. *Holland*.

Mr. *Walton*, witness on behalf of *Fortune*, said, 'that he
'had one day desired *Mary Burton* to go up stairs to see his
'negro *Fortune*, and that upon viewing of him, she declar-
'ed that she had never seen him at *Hughson's*.

*Note*, The girl gave no evidence against him; but it was no consequence, that because she had not seen him there, that no body else did.—But this seemed to be made an objection, as if *Burton* had given some evidence against him.

The several council summed up the evidence of the witnesses, which they respectively examined; the prisoners said nothing material on their defence, but denied all alledged against them.

The court charged the Jury, who withdrew, and being soon returned, found the prisoners all *guilty*.

The KING
*against*
John Ury, *alias* Jury,

THE prisoner having been indicted for counselling, abetting and procuring, *&c.* a negro man slave called *Quack*,

*Quack*, to set fire to the King's house in the fort, in pursuance of which the said house was burnt: He was brought to the bar and arraigned thereon, and thereon pleaded, *not guilty*.

## The KING *against* The same.

THE prisoner having been indicted a second time, on an act of the general assembly of the province, passed in the eleventh year of King *William* the third: For that he being an ecclesiastical person, made by authority pretended from the *See* of *Rome*, did after the time limited in the said act, come into this province and city of *New-York*, and there remain for the space of seven months, and did profess himself to be an ecclesiastical person, made and ordained by authority from the *See* of *Rome*; and did appear so to be, by celebrating masses, and granting absolution, *&c.* on which indictment he was also arraigned, and thereto pleaded, *not guilty* *.

The prisoner then prayed a copy of each indictment; but the court refused a copy of the first, and ordered him a copy of the second.

Then *Ury* prayed the use of pen, ink and paper; which was granted.

*Ordered*, That the trial of the said *Ury* be on tuesday next.

## The KING *against* Sarah Hughson.

ORDERED, that the execution of *Sarah* be further respited until tuesday next.

Court adjourned till friday morning 10 o'clock.

* Entitled, an act against Jesuits and Popish priests. By the second clause of this act, it is enacted, 'that all and every Jesuit, Seminary, Priest, Missionary, or other spiritual or ecclesiastical person, made or ordained by any 'authority, power or jurisdiction, derived, challenged, or pretended from 'the Pope, or See of Rome, or that shall profess himself, or otherwise appear to be such, by practising and teaching of others to say any popish 'prayers, by celebrating masses, granting of absolutions, or using any other 'of the Romish ceremonies, and rites of worship, by what name, title or degree soever, such person shall be called or known, who shall continue, abide, remain, or come into this province, or any part thereof, after the 'first day of November aforesaid [1700] shall be deemed and accounted an incendiary and disturber of the publick peace and safety, and an enemy to 'the true Christian religion, and shall be adjudged to suffer perpetual imprisonment. And if any person being so sentenced and actually imprisoned, 'shall break prison and make his escape, and be afterwards retaken, he 'shall suffer pains of death, penalties and forfeitures, as in cases of felony'.

An

*An extract taken this day by the Grand Jury, from Ury the Prieſt's journal, ſeized upon his commitment.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [*He*] Arrived at *Philadelphia.* | 17th *Feb.* | 1739. |
| At *Lundinum.* * | 5th *Mar.* | 1739. |
| To *Philadelphia.* | 29th *April.* | 1739. |
| Began ſchool at *Burlington* †, | 18th *June.* | 1739. |
| *Occulto* ‡, *Jacobus Atherthwait.* | 28th *July.* | 1739. |
| Came to the ſchool at *Burlington.* | 23d *Jan.* | 1740. |
| [*He*] Saw——— | 7th *May* | 1740. |
| At 5 he went to *Burlington*, to *Piercy* the madman. | | |
| Went to *Philadelphia.* | 19th *May* | 1740. |
| Went to *Burlington.* | 18th *June* | 1740. |
| At 6 in the evening to *Peneſack* §, to *Joſeph Aſhton.* | | |
| Begun ſchool at *Dublin* ‖ under *Charles Haſtes*, at 8 *l.* a year. | 31ſt *July.* | 1740. |
| ——— | 15th *Octo.* | 1740. |
| ——— | 27th | Ditto. |
| Came to *John Croker* (at the fighting cocks) *New-York.* | 2d *Nov.* | 1740. |
| I boarded gratis with him. | 7th *Nov.* | 1740. |
| Natura *Johannis Pool.* | 26th *Dec.* | 1740. |
| I began to teach with *John Campbell.* | 6th *April* | 1741. |
| Baptized *Timothy Ryan*, born 18th *April* 1740. Son of *John Ryan* and *Mary Ryan* **. | 18th *May* | 1741. |

* London, a town in Penſylvania, upon the borders of Maryland.

† In New-Jerſey. ‡ What was done privately or covertly between Ury and him is like to remain a ſecret. § i. e. Pennypack in Penſylvania. ‖ There are two Dublins, Upper and Lower in Penſylvania, ſuppoſed to be ſo named from Iriſh ſettlers. ** What family this was we know not, unleſs the prieſt is miſtaken in the chriſtian names of the father and mother of the child: There was one Andrew Ryan accuſed by William Kane, as one of the conſpirators, which will appear hereafter, who lodged with Eleanor his wife, at Hughſon's, all the winter, before the conſpiracy broke out, whom Kane affirmed to be a profeſt Papiſt, and it has been credibly reported that Kane was one himſelf, and always profeſſed himſelf ſo, till accuſed as a confederate in the conſpiracy; it was ſaid he would not ſo much as ſuffer his wife to keep a proteſtant book in the houſe, ſo great a devotee was he; therefore as he was alſo of the ſame perſuaſion, he could beſt diſcover his brethren.----There was another Ryan, a married man (at that time alſo an inhabitant of this town) a profeſt papiſt, who has it ſeems ſince withdrawn himſelf, but neither his nor his wife's name anſwers Ury's minute. But whoſoever the infant belonged to, its being kept ſo long from baptiſm, in a place where there are ſo many Proteſtant clergy of many denominations ready at hand, gives umbrage to the conjecture, that this office was reſerved for a Popiſh prieſt.

Pater

Pater confeſſor Butler, 2 Anni.
non ſacramentum non confeſſio *.

*This day the following liſt of negroes were recommended by the Judges to his honour the Lieut. Governor, to be inſerted in a pardon in order for tranſportation, viz.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Braſh,* | Peter Jay's, | 14 *Negroes.* |
| *Pompey,* | De Lancey's, | |
| *Braveboy,* | Livingſton's, | |
| *Pompey,* | Gilbert's, | |
| *Caſar,* | Gomez's, | |
| *Cato,* | Col. Moore's, | |
| *Dick,* | Ten Eyck's, | |
| *Prince,* | G. Crooke's, | |
| *Cuffee,* | Vaughton's, | |
| *London,* | Wyncoop's, | |
| *Pompey,* | Bayard's, | |
| *Sarah,* | Burk's, | |
| *Sam,* | VanCourtlandt's, | |
| *Emanuel,* | Wendover's, | |

Moſt of which had been made uſe of as witneſſes.

## *THURSDAY*, 16 JULY.

*QUACK*, Mr. Walter's negro, having been convicted upon his own confeſſion, as a confederate in the conſpiracy, and thereupon ſentenced to be burnt; great ſolicitations were made to his honour the lieutenant governor, for ſaving his life; or at leaſt, if that could not be done, that his ſentence might be changed from burning to hanging.

*Othello*, the Chief Juſtice's negro, being in the ſame condemnation, his honour, for his further information and ſatisfaction, directed the other two judges to report their opinions concerning theſe two criminals.

The judges accordingly reported, 'That conſidering the 'circumſtances they ſtood in before the court, they were 'of opinion, that they did not come within the intent, nor 'did they think them intitled to the benefit of his honour's 'proclamation lately publiſhed, offering mercy to ſuch per-'ſons, whites or blacks, as were concerned in the con-

* Who father confeſſor Butler was, alſo remains a ſecret as to us. Suppoſe ſome reverend gentleman reſiding in a neighbouring colony: Ury minutes it, as if it were ſomething obſervable, that there was neither ſacrament, nor confeſſion for two years, i. e. in the popiſh way of ceremony, as may be preſumed.

'ſpiracy, who ſhould make a full and free confeſſion of 'their guilt, &c. by the time therein limited.

Supreme Court.

*FRIDAY*, 17*th* JULY.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Juſtice.*

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING

*againſt*

Othello, Quack, WALTER's, } *Negroes.*

HIS honour the lieutenant governor, by and with the advice of the council, having recommended to the judges of the court to change the ſentence formerly paſſed againſt theſe criminals, to that of hanging, the court ordered it accordingly.

Ordered, That the execution of the ſaid *Othello* and *Quack* be on the morrow, between the hours of nine and one of the ſame day.

The KING

*againſt*

Tom HYER's,
Venture, TIEBOUT's,
Fortune, WALTON's,
Harry, MIZERALL's,
Galloway, RUTGERS's,
Frank, RYKER's,
} *Negroes.*

The court proceeded to paſs ſentence on the priſoners, which was, that *Harry* ſhould be burnt, and the other five hanged.

Ordered, That the execution of *Tom*, *Venture*, *Fortune*, *Galloway* and *Frank*, be on the morrow between the hours of nine and one of the ſame day; and that the execution of *Harry* be on the morrow, between the hours of two and ſeven of the afternoon of the ſame day.

Court adjourned till Monday the 20th inſtant, ten o'clock in the morning.

*SATURDAY*, 18*th* JULY.

SCHULTZ the high-conſtable, having ſignified to the recorder, late laſt night, that *Othello* had informed him, he

he could make very conſiderable diſcoveries relating to the conſpiracy, which he had a deſire to communicate to him. The recorder went up early this morning to the city-hall, and ſent for him, and the following confeſſion was taken before him.

Othello's *confeſſion.*

NUMB. III.

1. HE ſaid, 'That ſome time laſt fall, he ſaw *Tom* 'Ewens, a ſoldier, at *Hughſon*'s, and alſo *James O-* 'brien, a ſoldier, at different times, talking to *Hughſon*, 'and after they were gone, *Hughſon* told him, that they were 'both concerned in the plot, and that there were as many 'white people concerned as negroes.

2. 'That ſome time after he met *Obrien*, and he adviſed 'him (*Othello*) to ſteal his maſter's waiſtcoat and breeches, 'and to bring them to him, and he would ſatisfy him very 'well; but he never did it.

3. 'That *Hughſon* promiſed to give him a gun and a 'cutlaſs, but as to powder, or what quantity of arms or 'ammunition *Hughſon* had, he never told *Othello*.

4. 'That he does not know of any other whites or 'blacks that he has heard or knows, of his own knowledge, 'to have been concerned.

5. 'That he did not know that the fort was to be fired, 'nor when they were to begin to ſet fire to the town; '*Hughſon* ſaid *Albany* ſhould tell him, who was the firſt that 'told him of the plot, and that was the firſt time he carri-'ed him down to *Hughſon*'s, in June was twelve months, 'juſt about the time the *Cuba* people came there.

6. 'That col. Philipſe's *Frank* carried him down to '*Hughſon*'s to drink a dram; his boat lay by *Hughſon*'s 'dock, and he treated him; but no body ſaid any thing 'at that time of the plot, nor did he ever ſpeak to *Frank* 'about it, or *Frank* to him, nor does he know that *Frank* 'knew of it.

7. '*Hughſon* aſked him, if he could not get ſome of his 'Maſter's guns; but he told him, that he could not come 'at them.

8. 'That *Adam* perſuaded him, ſince he came in jail, 'to ſay, that he had agreed to kill his maſter and miſtreſs; 'and that by ſaying ſo, he might get clear: but this was 'all falſe, he never engaged to do any ſuch thing, nor was 'it ever propoſed to him by *Hughſon*, or any one elſe;

'only *Hughſon* told him, he muſt riſe with the reſt, and 'kill the People in general, as the reſt were to do.

9. 'That he never engaged with any negroes, or others, 'to go to Mr. *Murray*'s houſe, to kill, or aſſiſt in the kill-'ing, Mr. *Murray*, Mrs. *Murray*, and family. All this 'he ſays as he is going to anſwer it to God Almighty.

10. 'That *Quack*, *Walter*'s, denied, before Mr. *Charl-'ton*, that he ever engaged in any ſuch deſign to kill Mr. '*Murray*, &c. but that *Adam* ſent for him to come and 'ſup at Mr. *Murray*'s that night; * but *Quack* ſaid he 'was ſick, and would not come. *Jack* came of the meſ-'ſage with a lanthorn for him, and told him there was to 'be company there, and good liquor.

11. 'He ſolemnly proteſts to God Almighty, that he 'never talked to *Adam*, or *Adam* to him of the plot; nor 'did he know that *Adam* was concerned in it till after he 'came †.

This negro behaved upon this occaſion with a great deal of compoſure and decency; with an air of ſincerity, which very much affected the recorder: For from the intimacy he had the honour of with his maſter, he had frequent opportunities of ſeeing this negro at his houſe, and *Othello*'s caſe could not but move ſome compaſſion; but all things conſidered, when calmly reflected upon, one could not yield entire credit to his proteſtations, more particularly as to the laſt article: for *Adam* and he were well known to be familiar acquaintances; and as they were both, by their own confeſſions, ſworn into this execrable engagement, this diabolical conſpiracy, it will ſcarce be believed but they knew each other were concerned; and not only ſo, but muſt have had frequent diſcourſe about it.

*Othello* being remanded, *Quack*, *Walter*'s negro, was ſent for; and the recorder aſked him many queſtions, and exhorted him to tell the truth in what he ſhould ſay, as he was in a few moments to anſwer for his words and actions before God Almighty: but *Quack* ſaid he knew nothing more of the matter than what he had already declared in his confeſſions; ſo he was remanded. *But*

* If this was true, 'tis much (as Quack pretended to be ignorant of the engagement) that he ſhould remember the very night, and ſend ſo rude an anſwer to a civil invitation, as that he would not come: his pretence of ſickneſs would have been a ſufficient excuſe for a diſappointment in a matter of leſſer conſequence than this intended ſavage butchery.

† But this is a groſs falſity! See minutes of Othello's confeſſion, 29 and 30 June. He had forgot, ſurely, what he had ſaid before, 'That Adam and Albany mentioned the plot to him, and that he agreed to join 'burn and kill, &c. and was ſworn it ſhould ſeem by Adam and Albany.

*Evidence affecting* Othello.

*Pompey* (De Lancey's) confeſſion, § 8, 11. p. 178.

*Jack* (Murray's) confeſſion, § 1, 10. p. 200, 201.

*Adam's* confeſſion, § 19, 23, 25, 26, 29. p. 209, 210, 211.

*William Kane's* examination, N° II. § 8. p. 257.

*Othello's* own confeſſions, p. 234, 272.

*Evidence affecting* Quack.

*Abigail Earl* and *Lydia George's* depoſitions, p. 148, 149.

*Sandy's* or *Sawney's* examination, N° I. § 16. p. 65.

*Jack* (Murray's) confeſſion, § 1, 10. p. 200, 202.

*Adam's* confeſſion, § 16, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29. p. 208, 209, 210, 211.

*William Kane's* examination, N° II. § 15, 16, 18. p. 258, 259.

V. p. 267.

*Sarah Hughſon's* examination, § 2, 10. p. 236, 270.

*Quack's* own confeſſions, p. 185, 220, 273.

*As to the circumſtances attending theſe two negroes, as they appeared before the court.*

THE characters of theſe two miſerable wretches were well known: they had more ſenſe than the common rank of negroes; they had both kind, indulgent maſters; they were two of the head negroes in town; both fellows of high ſpirits; had both general acquaintance, and great influence amongſt the inferior ſort of negroes; their confeſſions were neither voluntary nor free, but came from them very unwillingly, and after much perſuaſion; nor could the judges look upon them to be full; ſo that theſe criminals were deficient in all the particulars required by the proclamation, as eſſentials in a recommendation to mercy: they indeed acknowledged their guilt in general, by their plea, and by their confeſſions, in a few particulars, thinking thereby, as it may well be inferred, to come off as cheap as they could; for, perhaps they might flatter themſelves, that by confeſſing what they did they ſhould ſave their lives: what they did ſay was very ſparing, and of little or no ſignificance, more eſpecially what came from *Quack*; and there was great reaſon to conjecture they both had it in their power to make very conſiderable diſcoveries.

*Quack* had been committed upon ſuſpicion, and was in confinement ſome time before any evidence came to light, which directly charged him as a confederate in the conſpira-

cy; and he held it out ſtoutly, till the proclamation of the 19th of June iſſued, proteſting he knew nothing at all of the matter: it was well known how much the [illegible] had, almoſt at his own diſpoſal, as if he were his own maſter; and now at length, the proofs that he was one of the conſpirators, came out to be ſtrong againſt him; and he had been impeached for a long while before hand; what he pretended to call confeſſions, were of little avail, as before obſerved; the firſt of them, *viz.* 23d June, charged nothing more upon himſelf, than a bare head-knowledge (to uſe a modern cant word) that there was a conſpiracy on foot, to burn houſes, which he by accident as it ſhould ſeem, overheard negroes a talking of; not that he was any ways concerned, or had agreed to, and engaged for it: in the ſecond confeſſion, 27th June, indeed he goes a ſtep farther, and ſays, 'That one day he was at *Hughſon*'s, and 'Vaarck's *Cæſar* aſked him, if he would conclude along 'with them, to ſet a great many houſes on fire.' *Quack* readily (but it may be obſerved by the way, in ſuch a manner, as if he was no ſuch ſtranger to the villainous enterprize) told him, 'he believed he would, but would conſi-'der of it, and give him an anſwer.' So that yet there was no acknowledgment of *Quack*'s engaging himſelf, even in the purpoſe of burning houſes only; not the leaſt hint that he ſo much as knew, or heard of any deſign to murder and deſtroy the people.

The liberties *Quack* took, were very notorious, not forgetting his expreſſions and airs on ſunday 5th April, in the midſt of the many fires that alarmed and terrified us, upon which he was firſt committed, and then recommitted, after enlargement for ſome time; and yet he ſtill obſtinately inſiſted on his innocence; but at laſt, when confeſſions became faſhionable amongſt them, and *Quack* had reaſon to apprehend himſelf in jeopardy, and that he had but one chance to ſave his neck; then comes his third confeſſion of the 12th inſtant, which pretends to diſcover nothing but what was well known before, excepting one piece of hear-ſay § 9. 'That Vaarck's *Cæſar*, who was alſo a priſoner 'in the ſame goal, told him that *Hughſon*, *Peggy*, and him-'ſelf, had had a ſupper at the houſe of one *Saunders*, upon the 'dock; and from *Cæſar*'s diſcourſe, he, *Quack*, underſtood 'that *Saunders* was concerned in the plot *; but not one

* 'Tis ſurpriſing that theſe deluded wretches did not diſcover all the white people they knew to be concerned, who had, no doubt, been the chief cauſe of bringing them to ſuch untimely end.

negro

negro does *Quack* impeach, notwithstanding his general acquaintance among them; and notwithstanding what Ward's *Will* declared to *Williams*: (and *Will* was very expert at plots, for this was the third time he had engaged in them) he believed there were not ten grown negroes in *York*, but what knew of it *; *Quack*'s insolence and ingratitude towards his master, were very remarkable, as declared by *William Kane* †: what virtues he might have had are best known to the family he belonged to, if he had any; but it seemed agreed on all hands, that *Quack* was always much better fed than taught.

*Othello* had been waiting upon his master in *New-England* all this summer, who left this place soon after the fire at the fort, and had been attending at *Providence*, in *Rhode-Island* government, upon his Majesty's especial commission: the chief justice it seems had many times taken him to task there, after he was informed what had been doing amongst us, and well knowing the nature and disposition of *Othello*, he concluded if there was a plot, he was very likely to have had a hand in it; and he took a great deal of pains with him, endeavouring to persuade him to confess, if he was any ways engaged in it, or knew any thing about it, assuring him at the same time, that if he was guilty, and would embrace that opportunity, by making an ingenuous confession, he would use his interest with the governor to save his life: but on the contrary, that if he went to *New-York*, and was tried and convicted, he would leave him to justice without mercy: but *Othello* withstood it all, notwithstanding his master endeavoured several times to prevail with him: and then, when the chief justice was advised of his being impeached, he took the first opportunity of sending him by water hither, in irons: and immediately upon his arrival, he was brought before, and examined by one of the judges, who warned him of the proclamation, and that the time limited for making voluntary, free and full confession and discovery, was to expire within two or three days, and admonished him to embrace that opportunity; but nevertheless, he obstinately persisted in protestations of his innocence, and was committed; but the next morning, when he had time to enquire of his brother-criminals how matters stood, he bethought himself, that 'twas proper for him to make some confession, and intimated that

* It seems most probable upon the whole, that this was the truth.

† See Kane's examination, Numb. II. § 15, 5th July.

he would to one of the chief juſtice's brothers; and the day after that, the judge ſent for him down, and took the confeſſion Monday 30th *June*. p. 235.

The aptneſs and alacrity of theſe two criminals for miſchief was monſtrouſly remarkable, as declared in evidence upon the confeſſions of two of their own colour and accomplices, in the ſame ſavage, cruel and bloody purpoſe; though *Quack* and *Othello* denied it to the laſt*. That the ſcheme was propoſed by *Hughſon* to a ſet of negroes at his houſe, and conſented to by them, of which *Othello* and *Quack* were two of the chief; and the very night was fixed upon for their being admitted by Mr. Murray's *Jack* into his maſter's houſe; and in conjunction with him, and *Adam*, his fellow-ſervant, theſe ruffians were to butcher that whole family in their beds, then to ſet the houſe on fire, after they had plundered it, and were to carry their ſpoils to *Hughſon*'s: If this was true, ſurely the maſters of theſe two bloody villains had nothing leſs to expect from them in their turns, than a ſhare in the like fate; and certainly it were not fit that two ſuch canibals, who could cooly engage to imbrue their hands in the blood of innocent perſons by wholeſale, who could never have offended them, ſhould be ſuffered any longer to breath, when the juſtice of the law had overtaken them: the judges could by no means think them proper objects of mercy; and had they recommended them to the governor as ſuch, and his honour had pardoned them, ſuch lenity towards them, might have been deemed cruelty to the people†.

About

* See Jack's, Mr. Murray's negro's examination, § 10, 11, 12, pa. 200, 201. Adam's examination, § 29. pa. 212. and the agreement of theſe two negroes examinations concerning this particular, as well as many others, upon compariſon, ſeems very remarkable; they did not ſee one another after they were ſent to goal, for they were kept apart till after theſe confeſſions were taken, nor could they ſo much as ſee one another till there was occaſion to make uſe of them as witneſſes.

† The other negroes concerned in this horrible undertaking, were likewiſe of the head or chief ſlaves in town, and principal agents, no doubt; amongſt the conſpirators of their own colour; ſome, perhaps, may object, why were not all, or at leaſt Mr. Murray's own negroes, made examples of, as well as theſe two criminals, for (may they ſay) they equally deſerved it?---Though one is not always obliged to give an anſwer to every one that aſks a queſtion, yet for once to oblige (if there ſhould be any) ſuch.---'Tis very true, they all deſerved moſt exemplary puniſhment; but if all the conſpirators in town had been executed, perhaps this would have been carrying the argument further than the objectors would have choſen it ſhould, eſpecially if any of their own ſlaves had happened to have been detected, though indeed it were much to be wiſhed, that every negro in town concerned were tranſported, or the place rid of them almoſt at any rate; and if ſo, it is probable there would be very few left to trouble us. But more particularly.---This black band of ruffians conſiſted of no leſs than twelve according to Adam; Jack agrees to all the ſame perſons, and adds

About noon *Othello* and *Quack*, Walter's; *Venture*, *Frank*, *Fortune*, Walton's and *Gallows*, negroes, were executed according to ſentence.

*Othello* being aſked ſome queſtions at the gallows about the plot, anſwered, he had nothing more to ſay than what he had this morning declared to one of the judges.

*Fortune*, Walton's, behaved at the gallows like a mountebank's fool, jumped off the cart ſeveral times with the halter about his neck, as if ſporting with death; ſome conjectured he was intoxicated with rum.

*Tom*, Hyer's negro, was reprieved.

This afternoon *Harry* the negro doctor was executed according to ſentence; in the way from the jail to the ſtake there were ſeveral endeavoured to perſuade him to make a confeſſion; but *Harry*'s heart was hardened, he would diſcover nothing, as he had no hopes of benefiting himſelf by it in this world: perhaps he might have been perſuaded of having fine things in the next, upon condition of his keeping all ſecret here: however, at length the terrors of death, and the lighted pile affrighted him ſo, that it ſeems he let drop ſome unguarded expreſſions, from which his guilt might be inferred, and that he could have made ſome diſcovery if he had thought proper; ſo much as was minuted down, as may be thought to have any relation to the conſpiracy, followeth.

*Minutes of* Dr. Harry's *confeſſion at the ſtake, Taken by Mr.* John Sprat.

1. HE *ſaid*, 'Jamie *Coſyn*'s negro told him (*Harry*) 'when they had ſome difference, that he would 'be ſoon hanged or burnt.

2. 'That he knew nothing of the plot of his own know-'ledge; that if he did, he would diſcover it to ſave his ſoul.

3. 'That he did not remember one negro upon *Long-'Iſland*, that was concerned.

adds one more which Adam had omitted, viz. Ben, JAY's, who had been ſent off to the Madera's the ſpring before the plot broke out; and all the reſt excepting Cæſar, PINTARD's; Brafh, Bill, Ten Eyck's; Adam and Jack, Murray's; had been executed already; and theſe laſt five had made large confeſſions, and conſiderable diſcoveries, more eſpecially Cæſar, Brafh, Adam and Jack, inſomuch that it was judged neceſſary to make uſe of them as witneſſes; for which reaſon, conſidering the pledge of the publick faith, and as they made thoſe large confeſſions and diſcoveries, conformable to and relying upon the proclamation for their indemnity with regard to their lives, their eſcape could not be avoided, though their crimes merited a more ſevere fate.

4. 'Being

Being asked about the complaint made for robbing houses, and about the poison for negroes; he said he knew nothing of it, and that it signified nothing to confess.

Supreme Court.

MONDAY, 20th JULY, 1741.

PRESENT,

*The second Justice.*

The KING
*against*
Sarah Hughson.

Ordered, that the execution of *Sarah Hughson* be respited until wednesday sevennight next,

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning ten o'clock.

A List of the negroes recommended this day by the Grand Jury to the Judges, to be discharged, they finding no sufficient evidence against them, *viz.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Cæsar*, | Col. Moore's. |
| *Robin*, | Mrs. Bickley's. |
| *Suffex*, | |
| *Frank*, | Col. Philipse's. |
| *John*, | Rip Van Dam's, Esq; |
| *Pedro*, | Peter de Peyster's. |
| *Jack*, | John Roerback's. |
| *Will*, | Mr. Filkin's. |
| *John*, | Widow Van Rant's. |

And they were discharged accordingly.

Supreme Court.

TUESDAY, 21st JULY.

PRESENT

*The Chief Justice.*
*The second and third Justices.*

The KING
*against*
John Ury.

MR. *Chambers*, of council for the KING in this prosecution, moved to put off the trial of the prisoner *Ury*, until the next term.

Ordered accordingly; and that the prisoner have sufficient notice of trial.

Or-

Ordered, That the perſons bailed for ſelling ſpirituous liquors to negroes, and for keeping diſorderly houſes, do attend the court on Thurſday next ten of the clock.

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning eleven o'clock.

*Examination of* William Kane, *before one of the Judges.*

NUMB. VI.

WILLIAM KANE being duly ſworn, and aſked, whether he knew one *Thomas Ewens*? He anſwered he did not; but that he knew one *Griffith Ewens*, a ſoldier, who was burnt in the fire at the fort.

He was then aſked, whether he knew that *James Obrien*, a ſoldier, was concerned in the plot? He anſwered, 'he 'did not.

But at laſt he ſaid, 'he recollected one *Thomas Ewens* 'who was out upon a furlow, but was in town all laſt win-'ter, and very great with *Obrien*; he ſaid, if *Obrien* was 'apprehended, perhaps he might tell.

Supreme Court.

*WEDNESDAY*, 22*d* JULY.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Juſtice.*

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING

*againſt*

John Ury, *alias* Jury.

JOHN URY was arraigned on a new indictment, for being an eccleſiaſtical perſon made by authority pretended from the See of *Rome*, and coming into and abiding in this province after the time limited by the act of aſſembly made the eleventh of WILLIAM the third, *&c.* as in the other indictment; [in the former indictment there having been a miſtake] and pleaded *not guilty*, &c.

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning eleven o'clock.

*The further examination of* Sarah Hughſon,

*Before the Chief Juſtice.*

NUMB. II.

1. SHE ſaid, 'That ſhe had often ſeen *Ury* the prieſt at 'her father's houſe, who uſed to come there in the 'evenings and at nights; and has ſeen him in company 'with the negroes, and talking with them about the plot 'of burning the town and deſtroying the white people.

2. 'That

2. 'That she has seen him several times make a round 'ring with chalk on the floor, and make all the negroes 'then present stand round it, and he (*Ury*) used to stand in 'the middle of the ring, with a cross in his hand, and there 'swore all the negroes to be concerned in the plot, and that 'they should not discover him, nor any thing else of the 'plot, though they should die for it.

3. 'That *William Kane* used often to come there with 'the negroes; and once, as she remembers, he came there 'with *Ury* the priest, who swore him into the plot, with 'several negroes, in particular, *Cæsar*, Vaarck's; Com-'fort's *Jack*, *Prince*, Auboyneau's; *Quash*, Walter's; 'Cuffee, Philipse's; *Peggy*, and the examinant herself, and 'her father and mother: that all this was done last winter, 'and she thinks before Christmas.

4. 'That she saw him the said *Ury* baptize the abovenam-'ed negroes or some of them, and told them he made them 'Christians, and forgave them all their sins, and all the sins 'they should commit about the plot; and preached to the 'negroes: *Kane* being there also.

5. 'That she has heard *Cæsar*, Vaarck's; Philipse's *Cuf-'fee*, and other negroes say, that they used to go to *Ury*'s 'lodging, where they used to pray in private after the po-'pish fashion; and that he used to forgive them their sins 'for burning the town, and destroying and cutting of the 'people's throats.

6. 'That *Ury* afterwards told the examinant that she must 'confess what sins she had been guilty of, to him, and he 'would forgive her them; that she told him that she had 'been guilty of no other sins but cursing and swearing in 'a passion, upon which he told her, as she had taken the 'oath to be concerned in the plot, he pardoned her her sins; 'she replied, that she did not believe any body could for-'give her her sins but God; and he said, yes, he and all 'priests could, if the people did but do what the priests bid 'them, and followed their directions. That *Peggy* used to 'confess in private to *Ury*; and she heard him tell her, 'if she would confess all the wickedness she had done in 'the world, he would forgive her, and particularly about 'the plot: and she says that *Peggy* has often told her she 'was a strong papist.

7. 'That several of the soldiers used often to come to 'their house and call for liquors, but she does not know whe-'ther they knew of, or were concerned in the plot, or not.

*Minutes of examinations, taken before the Grand Jury, of negroes not indicted.*

*YORK* (Thomſon's) ſaid, that *Dick* (Wolf's) was ſworn with him at *Hughſon's*.

*Quaſh*, of Le Roux, is accuſed by *Tickle*, *Baſtian* and *Sandy*, all three very clear and poſitive in their evidence, and likewiſe by *Kane*.

*Jupiter* (Walton's) is accuſed by *Baſtian* clearly, fully; and by *Kane*.

*York* (Van Rant's) ſworn at *Hughſon's*, by the evidence of *Tom* (Livingſton's) and to kill the white people.

*Prince* (Kortrecht's) was ſworn at *Hughſon's*, and promiſed to kill the white people, as appears by the evidence of *Tom* (Livingſton's.)

*Diego* (Abraham Marſchalk's) accuſed by Murray's *Adam*, who ſays he ſaw him at *Comfort's*; where were many negroes talking of killing of the white people; but can't ſay that he heard *Diego* ſay any thing.

*Adam* ſays further, that *Murray's* Jack told him, that he had ſeen *Diego* at *Comfort's*, and *Jack* an examinant denied it.

*Baſtian* ſays, That the free negro called *Franck* or *Frans*, that he accuſes, lives at *Hoboeck*, on Mr. *Bayard's* farm; and that he has ſeen him at *Hughſon's* among the reſt of the negroes at ſupper, when they were talking of the plot.

Supreme Court.

*THURSDAY*, 25th JUNE.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Juſtice.*

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The KING

*againſt*

William Whitefield.

On indictment for keeping a diſorderly houſe.

*William Whitefield* having pleaded *guilty* to the indictment for keeping a diſorderly houſe, entertaining negroes, *&c.*

Ordered, That for the ſaid offence, the ſaid *William Whitefield* be fined eight pounds, and ſtand committed until he pay his fine.

The KING
*againſt*
Stephen Burdett,
On the like.
The like; and fined forty ſhillings.

The KING
*againſt*
Iſrael Shadwick,
The like; and fined ten ſhillings.

The KING
*againſt*
John Chriſtian,
The like; and fined five pounds.

The KING
*againſt*
Nicholas Burget,
The like; and fined forty ſhillings.

The KING
*againſt*
Michael Breton,
The like; and fined five pounds.

The KING
*againſt*
Elizabeth Nevill,
The like; and fined ten ſhillings.

The KING
*againſt*
Eleanor Cavillier,
The like; and fined ten ſhillings.

The KING
*againſt*
Sarah Hales,
The like; and fined ten ſhillings.

The KING
*againſt*
Robert Saunders *,
The like; and fined ſixpence; and ordered to be diſcharged out of cuſtody, paying his fees.

The following negroes diſcharged this day out of goal, the Grand Jury not finding ſufficient evidence to indict them.

* This ſuppoſed to be the man that Quack, Walter's, underſtood from what Vaarck's Cæſar ſaid to him, to be concerned in the plot. See Quack's confeſſion, 12th July, § 9. p. 275. but this not thought of at that time.

*John Frontein*, A free negro,
*Tom*, Valois.
*Dick*, Robins's.
*Dublin*, Walton's.
*Quash*, Goelet's.
*Will.* Tiebout's.
*Jonio*, Courtlandts's.
*Diego*, Abraham Marschalk's.
*Diego*, Vandursen's.

Supreme Court.

*FRIDAY*, 24th JULY.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Justice.*
*The second and third Justices.*

Court opened and adjourned till to-morrow morning nine o'clock.

## *DEPOSITION,*

*Before one of the Judges.*

*ELIAS DEBROSSES*, of *New-York*, confectioner, being duly sworn, deposeth, 'That *John Ury*, now in 'goal, said to be a popish priest, came to this deponent's 'house about three months since, along with one *Web*, a 'carpenter, and asked if he had any sugar bits or wafers 'to sell? (the bits are usually made, as the deponent ap- 'prehends, in imitation of *Spanish* silver coin) This depo- 'nent shewed the said *Ury* some confectionary in imitation 'of dogs, hawks, owls, lambs and swans, supposing that 'he wanted them to give away to please children, but told 'him he had no bits or wafers: then the said *Ury* asked the 'deponent, whether the Lutheran-minister had not his wa- 'fers of him? or whether that paste which the deponent 'shewed him, was not made of the same ingredients as the 'Lutheran minister's? or asked the deponent some questi- 'on to that purpose: then the deponent told him the said '*Ury*, that if he had a congregation, and wanted any such things, 'that he might get a mould made by any joiner for that pur- 'pose: the deponent asked the said *Ury* (supposing him to be 'a professor of some particular sect) where his congregation 'was? And this he asked him two or three times; but the 'said *Ury* waved giving the deponent any answer thereto.

A list of seven negroes indicted by the Grand Jury, who were not to be found,

*Hanover*, *Mr.* Henry Cruger's.
*London*, Abraham Van Horn's.

*Lon-*

*Ben*, Stephen Bayard's.
*Pedro*, Richard Stilwell's.
*Ben*, Auguſtus Jay's.
*Jack*, *Mrs.* Governeur's.
*Joe*, Henry Holt's.

Supreme Court.

*SATURDAY*, 25*th* JULY.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Juſtice.*
*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

THE GRAND JURY came into court, and being called over, preſented (amongſt other bills) a bill againſt *Pedro*, Pierre de Peyſter's negro, for the conſpiracy.

Then the Grand Jury were diſcharged, with the thanks of the court for the great ſervice they had done their country.

The court adjourned to Tueſday the 28th inſtant, ten o'clock in the morning, being the firſt day of the ordinary July term.

*MONDAY*, 27*th* JULY, 1741.

## *DEPOSITION*

*Before one of the judges.*

1. *JOSEPH WEBB*, of the city of *New-York*, carpenter and houſe joiner, being duly ſworn, depoſed, 'That ſome time laſt fall, about the latter end of *October* 'or beginning of *November*, to the beſt of his remembrance, 'he was at work at *John Croker*'s at the fighting-cocks, 'and there became acquainted with *John Ury*; and hearing him read Latin and Engliſh to ſome people in the 'houſe, and thinking that he read very well, he enquired 'of *Croker* who he was; and he informed him, he was a 'ſchool-maſter lately come from *Philadelphia*, and taught 'his children to read: that after this, he became acquainted with the ſaid *Ury*, and aſked him if he would teach a 'child of his? And he ſaid he would, if *Croker* would give 'him the liberty of coming to his houſe; and *Croker* agreed 'to it; and he ſent his child to him.

2. 'That afterwards, this deponent, and *Ury* growing 'more intimate, and deponent obſerving a poor and mean 'appearance in his clothing, he thought his pocket anſwerable 'thereto, and gave him an invitation to his houſe, and told him

him he should be welcome to his table noon and night at any time, when he saw proper; and *Ury* accordingly came to this deponent's house frequently, all the winter afterwards; and in their conversations, he understood by the said *Ury*, that he profest himself a nonjuring minister: and that he had been taken into custody in *London*, for a book that he wrote and printed, that some criticks picked a whole in it, and construed it treason, which was contrary to his intent and meaning; but by means of some friend (a great man) who knew his family very well, and had a regard for him, he had his liberty and got away: and that by leaving *England*, he lost a living, (as the deponent understood him) church preferment, of 50*l.* a year income.

3. 'That the said *Ury* told the deponent in some of their 'conversation, that in the time of the late King WILLIAM 'the third, the said King offered to a certain bishop (whose 'name he does not now remember) a bishoprick of about 'nine thousand pounds a year, if he would take the oaths; 'but that the said bishop refused to comply therewith; or 'that the said bishop was in possession of that preferment, 'and was ousted, upon refusing to take the oaths; or the 'said *Ury* expressed himself to one or other of those purpo-'ses; and the deponent asked him the said *Ury*, how they 'did then, when that bishop was dead? Why said *Ury* they 'take it by seniority in a regular succession: and *Ury* declar-'ed, that he himself was ordained by a bishop, who took 'his bishoprick by seniority and regular succession, or ex-'pressed himself to that purpose, as the deponent under-'stood him.

4. 'That *Ury* in some of his conversations with him up-'on religious topicks, expressed himself in such a dark, ob-'scure and mysterious manner, that the deponent could not 'understand him; he would give hints that he could nei-'ther make head nor tail of.

5. 'That some time in May last, since the said *Ury* went 'to live at *Campbell*'s, in the house where *Hughson* lived, 'the said *Ury* asked the deponent, whether he knew of any 'confectioner? And the deponent carried him to Mr. *De* 'Bross*e*'s; and when he came there, he asked *De Bross*e to 'shew him some confectionary; and *Ury* likewise asked *De* 'Bross*e*, whether the Lutheran minister had his wafers of 'him? And *De Bross*e said no, he had not them of him: 'that *De Bross*e shewed *Ury* confectionary in different shapes '(that is to say) some lions, some dogs, and cocks (as de-

'ponent thinks) but *Ury* ſaid they would not ſave them, and 'ſo went away.

6. 'That one day the converſation between *Ury* and de-'ponent was about negroes; deponent having ſaid they had 'ſouls to be ſaved or loſt as well as other people: *Ury* ſaid, 'they were not proper objects of ſalvation; deponent re-'plied, what would you do with them then; what would 'you damn them all? No, ſays *Ury*, leave them to that 'great Being that has made them, he knows beſt what to 'do with them; ſays *Ury*, they are of a ſlaviſh nature, it 'is the nature of them to be ſlaves, give them learning, 'do all the good you can, and put them above the condi-'tion of ſlaves, and in return they will cut your throats.*

7. 'That after *Campbell* removed to *Hughſon's* houſe, '*Ury* removed thither about a week or ten days after him; 'and the deponent went thither three times, and heard him 'read prayers, in the manner of the church of *England*, 'but in the prayers for the King, he only mentioned our ſo-'vereign lord the King, and not *King George*: the drift of 'his firſt ſermon was againſt drunkenneſs and debauchery 'of life, and againſt deiſts. The firſt part of his ſecond 'ſermon was much to the ſame purpoſe with the former, 'and the latter was an admonition to every one to keep to 'their own miniſter; they that were of the church of *En-'gland*, to the *Engliſh* miniſter, thoſe that were of the 'Lutheran perſuaſion to keep to that, and thoſe of the Preſ-'byterians to keep to their miniſters, and not to have itch-'ing ears to run after every new miniſter: that he did not 'propoſe to ſet up a ſociety for preaching to them; that he 'only gave a word of admonition at the requeſt of the fa-'mily where he was.

8. 'That at his third ſermon, Mr *Hildreth* was preſent; 'and *Ury* therein took notice of two miniſters that had 'lately preached in this city, whoſe doctrine he condemn-'ed; the particulars that the deponent remembers he took 'notice of, were their preaching up, that faith without 'works were ſufficient for ſalvation; he ſaid that this de-'ſtroyed two grand attributes of God Almighty, his juſ-'tice, and mercy; (as he thinks) and inſiſted that there 'muſt be good works: this was the ſunday before the King's 'proclamation day; and at the cloſe he warned the perſons 'preſent; that on the King's proclamation day, at five of 'the clock in the evening, he intended to preach upon the

* Ury ſeemed to be well acquainted with the diſpoſition of them.

'ſal-

'following words, among others: Upon this rock I will 'build my church, and the gates of hell ſhall not prevail 'againſt it, (concerning St. Peter) and theſe other words, 'whoſeſoever ſins ye remit, they are remitted, and whoſeſo-'ever ſins ye retain they are retained. This is to the beſt 'of deponent's remembrance; but deponent has not heard 'that he preached according to that warning.

9. 'That the deponent has heard *Ury* ſay, that ſuch a 'time and ſuch a time was his ſacrament day, and that he 'muſt receive the ſacrament; and he thinks he has heard 'him ſay, that he muſt adminiſter the ſacrament, but can-'not be poſitive.'

The judges of the ſupreme court having for ſome time paſt, had under conſideration the caſe of *Sarah Hughſon*, daughter of *John Hughſon* and *Sarah* his wife, all lately convicted as accomplices in the conſpiracy; the circumſtances of her misfortune, of having been trained up under the influence and evil example of ſuch wicked diſpoſed parents, bore great weight with them; they were therefore inclinable (if ſhe could be prevailed upon to give ſome colour for it) to recommend her to his honour the lieutenant governor as an object of mercy; and in this expectation, her execution (which by order of the court was propoſed to have been at the ſame time with her father and mother) had been from time to time reſpited; but, after their execution, ſhe remained for ſome time very obſtinate; and though there was great reaſon to expect that it was in her power to give a further inſight into this ſcene of iniquity; yet ſhe remained inflexible, after ſeveral examinations, and would diſcover nothing; till at length, they were under a neceſſity of calling her up to ſentence, and appointing a day for her execution, propoſing this as the laſt experiment to bring her to a confeſſion, which happened to have the intended effect; and if there could be any dependance upon her veracity in what ſhe had declared (and that ſhe has diſcovered ſome truths not before brought to light, they judged from the nature of the conſpiracy, ſo far as it has been unfolded) and if ſhe could be affected with a ſenſe of gratitude for ſaving her life upon ſo ſmall merit, and kept to her hiſtory concerning *John Ury* then in cuſtody, and ſoon to be tried as an accomplice in the plot, and alſo as a Roman catholick prieſt, they thought ſhe would be a very material evidence againſt him: on theſe conſiderations they thought fit this day to recommend her to his honour for a pardon, as an object of mercy.

Supreme Court.

TUESDAY, 28th JULY.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Juſtice,*
*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

Court opened with the uſual forms.

Grand Jury called, and the following appeared and were ſworn.

Meſſrs. *Joſeph Robinſon.*
*James Livingſton,*
*Hermanus Rutgers*, jun.
*Charles le Roux,*
*Abraham Boelen,*
*Peter Rutgers,*
*Jacobus Rooſevelt,*
*John Auboyneau,*
*Stephen Van Courtlandt*, jun.
*Abraham Lynſen,*
*Gerardus Duychinck,*
*John Provooſt,*
*Henry Lane*, jun.
*Henry Cuyler,*
*John Rooſevelt,*
*Abraham de Peyſter,*
*Edward Hicks,*
*Joſeph Ryall,*
*Peter Schuyler,*
*Peter Jay,*
} Merchants.

THE Chief Juſtice charged the Grand Jury to proſecute the enquiry for the detection of the conſpirators, and to preſent all crimes and offences from treaſons down to treſpaſſes.

*A liſt of eighteen negroes recommended by the judges this day to his honour the lieutenant governor, to be inſerted in a pardon, in order for tranſportation.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Jack,* | Joſhua Sleydall's. |
| *Jack,* | Henry Breaſted's, |
| *Sandy,* | Thomas Niblet's, |
| *Cæſar**, | Iſrael Horſefield's, |

*Tickle*

* After the ſecret of the plot had got air, it was obſerved by ſeveral, as they

| | |
|---|---|
| *Pickle,* | Elizabeth Carpenter's, |
| *Harry,* | John Furman's. |
| *London,* | Edward Kelly's, |
| *Low,* | David Provoost's, |
| *Jeffery,* | Capt. Browne's, |
| *York,* | Thomas Thomas's. |
| *Sam,* | Peter Love's, |
| *Windſor,* | Samuel Meyers Cohen's. |
| *Jack,* | Mr. Murray's, |
| *Adam,* | |
| *Tom,* | Robert Livingſton's, |
| *Goſport,* | Robert Bound's, |
| *Toby,* | Hercules Wendover's, |
| *Tom,* | Widow Hyer's. |

*The ſix following had been indicted for the conſpiracy, but their maſters agreed to enter into recognizance to tranſport them forthwith.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Dick,* | Wolf's, |
| *Cæſar,* | Dr. Henderſon's, |
| *Prince,* | Cornelius Kortrecht's, |
| *York,* | Widow Vanzant's, |
| *Quaſh,* | Charles La Roux, |
| *Jupiter,* | Capt. Walton's. |

they declared afterwards, that the behaviour of many negroes was wild and confuſed, though the cauſe of ſuch extravagance was not accounted for, till thoſe wretches were impeached, and taken into cuſtody: all the negroes arraigned upon the indictment for the conſpiracy on the 26th June, with Cæſar, had pleaded not guilty; but Cæſar was hardy, inſiſted upon his innocence, and pleaded, not guilty. Some endeavour was uſed by the counſel at the bar, who knew the evidence affecting Cæſar, to prevail with him to confeſs his guilt, but in vain; till at length, one of thoſe gentlemen inſpecting the indictment, obſerved Cato, col. Moore's negro, to be indorſed thereon, as a witneſs againſt him, whereupon he aſked Cæſar, whether he was acquainted with that Cato? At which Cæſar ſeemed confounded, and immediately anſwered, guilty.

# The TRIAL of JOHN URY alias JURY.

Supreme Court.

WEDNESDAY, 29th July.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Justice.*

*The first and third Justices.*

The KING

*against*

Sarah Hughson, *the daughter.*

THIS criminal convict being set to the bar, the court demanded of her, what she had to say, why execution of her former sentence should not be awarded against her? She thereupon produced and pleaded his Majesty's most gracious pardon; and the same being read, was allowed of.

The KING

*against*

John Ury *alias* Jury.

THE prisoner was brought to the bar, and the court proceeded upon his trial, as followeth.

*Clerk in court.* Cryer, make proclamation for silence.

*Cryer.* O yes! Our sovereign lord the King does strictly charge and command all manner of persons to keep silence, upon pain of imprisonment.

*Cryer.* If any one can inform the King's justices, the King's attorney general for this province, or the inquest now to be taken on the behalf of our sovereign lord the King, of any treason, murder, felony, or any other misdemeanor committed or done by the prisoner at the bar, let them come forth, and they shall be read; for the prisoner now stands upon his deliverance.

*Clerk.* Cryer, make proclamation.

*Cryer.* O yes! you good men that are impanelled to enquire between our sovereign lord the King, and *John Ury* alias *Jury*, the prisoner at the bar, answer to your names.

*Clerk.* *John Ury* alias *Jury*, hold up thy hand.

These good men that are now called, and here appear, are those which are to pass between you and our sovereign lord the King, upon your life or death; if you challenge any of them

them you must speak as they come to the book to be sworn and before they are sworn.

(The court apprized the prisoner of the nature and extent of that liberty the law allowed him, for making his challenges to the jurors.)

The prisoner challenging none, the court proceeded, and the jury were sworn, to wit,

| | |
|---|---|
| *William Hammersley*, | *Peter Prevoon*, |
| *Gerardus Beekman*, | *Thomas Willet*, |
| *John Sharpas*, | *John Broom*, |
| *Sidney Breese*, | *John Hunter*, |
| *Daniel Shatford*, | *James Tucker*, |
| *Thomas Bethenna*, | *Brandt Schuyler.* |

*Clerk*, Cryer, make proclamation.

*Cryer*. O yes! Our sovereign lord the King does strictly charge and command all manner of persons to keep silence, upon pain of imprisonment.

*Clerk*. You gentlemen of the jury, that are now sworn, look upon the prisoner, and hearken to his charge.

'The prisoner stands indicted, for that, whereas a negro slave, called *Quack*, belonging to *John Roosevelt*, of 'the city of *New-York*, merchant, on the eighteenth day 'of March, in the fourteenth year of the reign of our sovereign lord GEORGE the second, by the grace of God, 'of *Great-Britain*, &c. at the city of *New-York*, into a 'certain dwelling house of our said lord the King, which 'then was standing and being at the fort in the said city 'of *New-York*, and was then in the possession of the honourable GEORGE CLARKE, Esq; his Majesty's lieutenant governor of the province of *New-York*, did enter, 'and of his malice aforethought lighted fire, then and there 'wickededly, malicioufly, voluntarily, wilfully and felonioufly did put, and with the said lighted fire he the said negro man slave called *Quack*, the dwelling house aforesaid 'then and there wickedly, &c. did set on fire, and burn, 'and wholly consume, and destroy, against the peace of 'our said sovereign lord the King, his crown and dignity: 'and that *John Ury* alias *Jury*, private school-master, on 'the twenty second day of February, in the said fourteenth 'year of the reign of our said lord the King, and diverse 'other days and times before the felony and burning aforesaid. in form aforesaid, done and perpetrated at the city 'of *New-York*, of his malice afore-thought, wickedly, 'malicioufly, voluntarily, wilfully and felonioufly did coun-

'ſel, abet, procure and encourage the aforeſaid negro man 'ſlave called *Quack*, the felony and burning aforeſaid, in 'form aforeſaid committed and perpetrated, to commit and 'perpetrate, in moſt pernicious example of all others in the 'like caſe offending, contrary to the form of the ſtatutes in 'ſuch caſe made and provided, and againſt the peace of our 'ſovereign lord the King, his crown and dignity.

'Upon this indictment he has been arraigned, and hath 'pleaded thereunto, *not guilty*; and for his trial has put him-'ſelf upon God and his country; which country you are.

'Your charge is to enquire, whether he be guilty of the 'felony whereof he ſtands indicted, or not guilty. If you 'find him guilty, you are to enquire what goods and chat-'tels, lands and tenements he had at the time when the fe-'lony was committed, or at any time ſince: If you find 'him not guilty, you are to ſay ſo, and no more: And hear 'your evidence.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
Mr. MURRAY,
Mr. ALEXANDER,
Mr. SMITH,
Mr. CHAMBERS,
} Of counſel for the King.

The Attorney General RICHARD BRADLEY, Eſq; addreſſing himſelf to the court and jury, opened the indictment; and proceeded as followeth.

'In order to maintain the charge againſt the priſoner, up-'on this indictment, we ſhall produce to you the following 'evidence, to wit,

'That the priſoner was actually concerned in the plot to 'burn the King's houſe, and this city, and murder the in-'habitants.

'That he has frequently been at *Hughſon*'s houſe, in com-'pany with *Hughſon*, his wife, and daughter, and *Kerry*, 'and with divers negroes, talking with them about the plot, 'and counſelling and encouraging them to burn the King's 'houſe, and the town, and to kill and deſtroy the inhabi-'tants.——That the negro *Quack*, who burnt the King's 'houſe, was preſent at one or more of thoſe times, when 'the priſoner counſelled and encouraged the negroes as afore-'ſaid.—That he adviſed them what would be the fitteſt time 'to ſet the Engliſh church on fire; and that the priſoner, 'as a Popiſh prieſt, baptized *Hughſon*, his wife, and daugh-'ter, and *Kerry*, and alſo diverſe negroes, and told them 'then, and at ſeveral other times, that he could forgive

'ſins,

'ſins, and that he forgave them their ſins relating to the 'plot.

'That when he was with the negroes at *Hughſon*'s houſe, 'he uſed to make a round ring on the floor with chalk, or 'ſome other thing, and ſtand in the middle of it with a 'croſs in his hand, and ſwear the negroes into the plot; and 'that they ſhould not diſcover either the plot, or him, or a-'ny other perſon concerned in it, though they were to die 'for it.

'That ſome time laſt winter, he (at *Hughſon*'s houſe,) 'ſwore *Hughſon*, his wife, and daughter, and *Kerry*, and 'ſeveral negroes into the plot.

'That he went by ſeveral names; and that when he bap-'tized the negroes, or any of the conſpirators, he uſed to 'tell them, he forgave them all the ſins they ſhould com-'mit about the plot.

'We ſhall likewiſe produce to you a letter from general '*Oglethorpe* to his honour our governor, whereby it appears, 'That ſome time before the plot broke out here, the *Spa-'niards* had employed emiſſaries to burn all the magazines 'and conſiderable towns in the *Engliſh North-America*: 'And that many prieſts were employed, under pretended 'appellations of phyſicians, dancing-maſters, and ſuch like 'occupations; and under ſuch pretences to get admittance 'into, and confidence in, families.

'This, gentlemen, was their helliſh device to ſet on foot 'and carry on the late dreadful conſpiracy among us; and the 'priſoner, in conjunction with *Hughſon* (as we now have 'reaſon to believe) drew in the reſt of the conſpirators.

'Gentlemen, what I have alledged, and much more, 'you will hear fully proved againſt the priſoner by the wit-'neſſes for the King, on this trial. But before we enter up-'on their examination, give me leave to ſay a few words 'concerning the hainouſneſs of this priſoner's offences, and 'of the Popiſh religion in general; which I ſhall ſpeak but 'very briefly to, as there are ſeveral other Gentlemen of 'Counſel for the King on this trial, and as I have not had 'either health or leiſure to prepare to ſay much on this 'occaſion.

'Gentlemen, The late dreadful conſpiracy to burn the 'King's houſe, and this whole town, and to kill and de-'ſtroy the inhabitants, which the priſoner, as well as *Hugh-'ſon* adviſed and encouraged, and ſwore many of the con-'ſpirators to join and bear their parts in, are crimes of too

'black and inhuman a nature need any aggravation?
'no doubt, the prisoner's engaging, at the peril of his own
'life, in so destructive, so bloody and dangerous enter-
'prize, proceeded from his being employed in it by other
'Popish priests and emissaries, and his zeal for their super-
'stitious religion: For the Popish religion is such, they
'hold it not only lawful but meritorious to kill and destroy
'all that differ in opinion from them, if it may any ways
'serve the interest of their detestable religion; the whole
'scheme of which seems to be a settled endeavour to extir-
'pate all other religions whatsoever, but more especially the
'Protestant religion, which they maliciously call the North-
'ern heresy: And to attain this wicked end, their first trick
'is, by subtile arguments to persuade the laity out of their
'senses, by shewing them a seeming necessity for their be-
'lieving as their church believes, if they tender their own
'salvation; and this, with many more frauds, the church
'of *Rome* has artfully devised to get an absolute dominion
'over the consciences, that they may the more easily pick
'the pockets of credulous people: Witness the pretended
'pardons and indulgencies of that crafty and deceitful church,
'and their masses to pray souls out of purgatory, which they
'quote (or rather wrest) scripture for, when no such thing
'is to be found there; but is a mere invention and cheat of
'their own to gull the laity of their money.

'Then they have their doctrine of transubstantiation,
'which is so big with absurdities, that it is shocking to the
'common sense and reason of mankind; for were that doc-
'trine true, their priests, by a few words of their mouths,
'can make a God as often as they please; but then they
'eat him too; and this they have the impudence to call
'honouring and adoring of him.——Blasphemous wretch-
'es! For hereby they endeavour to exalt themselves above
'God himself, inasmuch as the creator must necessarily be
'greater than his creature.

'These and many other juggling tricks they have in
'their hocus pocus, bloody religion; which have been
'strip'd of all their wretched disguise, and fully exposed in
'their own colours by many eminent divines, but more
'particularly by the great Dr. *Tillotson*, whose extraordina-
'ry endowments of mind, his inimitable works, and ex-
'emplary piety and charity have gained him such universal
'esteem and applause throughout all the Protestant world,
'as, no doubt, will endure as long as the Protestant

'name

name and religion safe, which I hope will be to the end of time.

*Gentlemen*,

When you have heard the witnesses prove to you what I have charged against the prisoner, I make no doubt but you will, for your own sake, and for your own country's peace and future safety, find him guilty.

Witnesses for the King.

Mr. *George Tuthill Ellery*, clerk in court, sworn.

He proved the arraignment and conviction of *Hagg*, on the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth days of May last, who set fire to the fort.

*Mary Burton*, sworn.

Mr. *Chambers*. *Mary*, give the court and jury an account of what you know concerning this conspiracy, to burn down the town, and murder and destroy the inhabitants; and what part you know the prisoner at the bar has acted in it: Tell the whole story from the beginning, in your own method, but speak slow, not so hastily as you usually do, that the court and jury may the better understand you.

*Mary Burton*. Why, I have seen *Ury* very often at *Hughson*'s, about Christmas and new-year, and then he staid away about a fortnight or three weeks, and returned again about the time that *Hagg*'s goods came to our house. I have often seen him in company with *Hughson*, his wife and daughter, and *Peggy*, and several negroes, talking about the plot, burning the fort first, then the Fly, and then the dock: And upon some of the negroes saying, they were afraid of being damned for being concerned in the plot; I heard *Ury* tell them they need not fear doing of it, for that he could forgive them their sins as well as God Almighty, and would forgive them. They were to burn the whole town and to kill the people: *Ury* was to be captain of a company of negroes, and he was to begin the fire where he lodged *; that when they were once together above stairs, *Ury*, *Hughson*, his wife, and *Peggy*; they called *Mary*, and I went up; but when I came up stairs, *Ury* had a book in his hand; and bid me go away, and asked me what business I had there, and said, they did not call me, they called *Mary Hughson*; and he was angry, and shut the door too again; and I looked under it; and there was a black ring upon the floor, and things in it; that seemed to look like rats, I don't know what they

* At Croker's, near the coffee-house, by the Long-bridge.

were,

were*. That another time I heard him talking with the negroes, *Quack* and others, about the plot; and he drove ed the negroes out of the room, and asked me to swear; and I said I would swear, if they would tell me what I was going to swear; but they would have me swear first; and *Hughson*, and his wife, went and fetched silver and gold rings, and offered them to me, in case I would swear; but I would not, and they said, I was a fool; and *Cuff* then told me, he could forgive sins as well as God; I answered, I thought that was out of his power—That one night, some time about new year, I was listening at the door of the room upon the stairs, where there was *Cuff*, *Hughson*, his wife, and daughter *Sarah*, *Cæsar* (Yeates's) *Prince* (Auboyneau's) *Cuffee* (Philips's) and other negroes; and I looked through the door, and saw upon the table a black thing like a child, and *Cuff* had a book in his hand, and was reading, but I did not understand the language; and having a spoon in my hand, I happened to let it drop upon the floor, and *Cuff* came out of the room, running after me down stairs, and he fell into a tub of water, which stood at the foot of the stairs, and I ran away—When they were doing any thing extraordinary at nights, they would send me to bed.

*Prisoner*. You say, you have seen me several times at *Hughson*'s, what clothes did I usually wear?

*Mary Burton*. I cannot tell what clothes you wore particularly.

*Prisoner*. That is strange, and know me so well.

*M. Burton*. I have seen you in several clothes, but you chiefly wore a riding coat, and often a brown coat, trimmed with black.

*Prisoner*. I never wore any such coat.

*Prisoner*. What time of the day did I use to come to *Hughson*'s?

*M. Burton*. You used chiefly to come in the night time, and when I have been going to bed; I have seen you undressing in *Peggy*'s room, as if you were to lie there; but I cannot say that you did, for you was always gone before I was up in the morning.

* See Sarah Hughson's examination, pa. 270. § 9. See note † thereto. What Mary saw, was by looking under the door, which it may be supposed, afforded but an obscure view, and the negroes perhaps pulling their black toes backwards and forwards, Mary might be puzzled what to make of them. But Sarah Hughson and Kane agree with Burton, that there was a ceremony used with a ring or circle upon the floor, at swearing the confederates.

Pri-

*Priſoner.* What room was it in which I called *Mary*, and you came up, as you ſaid?

*M. Burton.* In the great room up ſtairs.

*Priſoner.* What anſwer did the negroes make, when I offered to forgive them their ſins, as you ſaid?

*M. Burton.* I don't remember.

*William Kane*, ſworn.

Mr. *Chambers.* *Kane*, will you give the court and jury an account of what you know of the priſoner at the bar, and of his being concerned in the conſpiracy for burning the fort, and the town, and murdering the inhabitants? Give the whole account at large.

*William Kane.* 'I know the priſoner very well, I have 'ſeen him at *Croker's*, at *Coffin's*, and *Hughſon's*; and par-'ticularly with *Daniel Fagen*, *Jerry Corker*, *and one Plow-'mer*, and ſeveral negroes at *Hughſon's*. *Jerry Corker* was 'one of the firſt that brought me into the plot. One day 'before Chriſtmas laſt, I was ſtanding ſentry at the go-'vernor's door, and *Jerry Corker* coming out, I being dry, 'aſked him for beer; *Jerry* ſaid he would get ſome; that 'he had rum in his pocket, and would make flip; and then 'he went in and made it in a copper pot, and told me it 'was with loaf ſugar; I drank a draught of it; and when 'I was relieved at night, *Corker* came into the guard room, 'and aſked me if I would go to *Croker's* at the fighting 'cocks, where there was to be a chriſtening by a *Roman* 'prieſt; we went thither, and ſtaid till paſt ten o'clock, 'but the people did not come that night: the next night, '*Corker* and I went there again, but the people were not 'there: the third night we went to New-ſtreet, to the houſe 'of one *Coffin* a pedlar; there they had a child, and *Ury* 'chriſtened it, and read Latin; three acted as prieſts, and 'handed the book about; *Ury* put ſalt in the child's mouth, 'ſprinkled it thrice, and croſſed it. That *Ury* and *Corker* 'there endeavoured to perſuade me to be a Roman Catho-'lick; *Ury* ſaid, it was beſt to be a Roman, they could 'forgive ſins for any thing ever ſo bad; I told him, I did 'not believe him; and *Corker* told me that *Ury* and all prieſts 'could forgive ſins. That *Ury* was preſent at *Hughſon's*, 'when *John Hughſon* ſwore me and his father and bro-'thers into the plot; there was *Quack* and forty or fifty ne-'groes there at the ſame time; we were to burn the town, 'and deſtroy the people. *David Johnſon* was there, and '*Ury* tipped him on the ſhoulder, and they went into a room

together, and ſtaid a quarter of an hour, and when they
came back, *Johnſon* ſaid, d—n you, but we will have the
*Dutch*, and get their money; that *Ury* [illegible]
that he could forgive ſins, many were [illegible]
concerned; *Ury* was near me when I was [illegible]
the *Hughſons*, and I took him to be one of the [illegible]
*Ury* wanted to chriſten me, but I would not, and he would
not ſpeak to me, nor before me, for a long time, for he
could not abide me, becauſe I refuſed to become a Roman,
till after he knew that I was conberned in the plot, and
then he did not much care for me: *Ury* was by when
*Hughſon* ſwore eight negroes into the plot in a room, and
it was then talked among them, of burning the fort, and
*Quack* (who was preſent) was at that time pitched upon
to do it, in the preſence of *Ury*, who he believed might,
and did hear it. *Jerry Corker* told me, that the Engliſh
church was intended to be burnt on Chriſtmas day laſt,
but *Ury* put it off, and ſaid, that when the weather was
better, then there would be a fuller congregation.

*Priſoner.* You ſay you have ſeen me very often, you ſaw
me at *Coffin*'s, you ſaw me ſeveral times at *Hughſon*'s, pray
what clothes did you ſee me in?

*Kane.* I have ſeen you in black, I have ſeen you in a
yellowiſh great coat, and ſometimes in a ſtraight bodied
coat, of much the ſame colour.

*Priſoner.* What time of the day have you ſeen me at
*Hughſon*'s, and what did I ſay to you?

*Kane.* I have ſeen you there chiefly at nights, and you
told me, you could forgive me my ſins, and there would
be no fear of damnation, and you wanted to chriſten me.

*Priſoner.* You ſay you ſaw me chriſten a child in New-
ſtreet; how was the child dreſt, and what ceremony did I
uſe, and who was preſent there then?

*Kane.* The child was not naked, it was dreſſed as uſual;
and you put it on your left arm, and ſprinkled it with wa-
ter three times, and put ſalt in it's mouth, and croſſed it,
as I ſaid before; there were about nine perſons preſent.

*Priſoner.* Did I uſe any thing beſides ſalt and water?

*Kane.* Not that I ſaw.

*Priſoner.* Who were preſent at the chriſtening?

*Kane.* Eight or nine perſons, I think; there was *Jerry
Corker*, *Daniel Fogan*, *Coffin*, you, the mother of the child,
myſelf, and two or three more.

*Priſoner.* You ſay you ſaw me at *Hughſon*'s ſeveral times,
what room was I uſually in?

*Kane*

*Kane.* Sometimes in one room, and ſometimes in another.

*Priſoner.* At what time was I there?

*Kane.* At nights.

*Priſoner.* What habit have you ſeen me wear?

*Kane.* A black coat, a yellowiſh ſurtout, and ſometimes a light coloured cloſe bodied cape coat.

*Priſoner.* What did I offer in order to induce you to become a *Roman* catholick?

*Kane.* Forgiveneſs of all my ſins paſt, and what I ſhould do in this caſe; and I ſaid to you, what a fine thing it is to be of ſuch a religion, when a prieſt can forgive ſins, and ſend one to heaven.

Mr. *Chambers.* Call *Sarah Hughſon.*

*Priſoner.* I except againſt her being ſworn, for ſhe has been convicted, and received ſentence of death for being concerned in this conſpiracy, and therefore cannot be a witneſs.

*Attorney General.* But Mr. *Ury*, ſhe has received his Majeſty's moſt gracious pardon, which ſhe has pleaded in court this morning, and it has been allowed of, and therefore the law ſays, ſhe is a good evidence. II. *Hawk.* title Pardon. Chap. 37. § 48.

*Court.* Her pardon has been pleaded, and pardoned, and by law, ſhe may be admitted.

*Sarah Hughſon*, ſworn.

Mr. *Chambers. Sarah*, do you give the court and jury an account of what you know of *Ury*'s being concerned in this conſpiracy.

*S. Hughſon.* 'I know him, and have often ſeen him at 'my father's, late in laſt fall chiefly: I have ſeen him there 'at nights, in company with negroes, when they have been 'talking of burning the town, and killing the white peo-'ple. I have ſeen him make a ring with chalk on the floor, 'which he made the negroes ſtand round, and put their left 'foot in, and he ſwore them with a croſs in his hand, to 'burn and deſtroy the town, and to cut their maſters and 'miſtreſſes throats. He ſwore *Baſtian*, Vaavck's *Cæſar*, 'Auboyneau's *Prince*, and Walter's *Quack*; he ſwore them 'to keep ſecret, not to diſcover him or any body elſe, if 'they were to die for it. I have heard *Ury*, and the ne-'groes, talk of burning the fort; and he ſaid, if that did not 'do, they were to begin at the eaſt end of the town, with 'a ſtrong eaſterly wind, and that would go through the 'whole town. He aſked me to ſwear to the plot, and ſaid, 'that

'that I ſhould have all my ſins forgiven, if I kept all ſe-
'cret; and he ſwore me on an *Engliſh* book, and my pa-
'rents and *Peggy* were by; and he ſwore *Peggy* too, and I
'heard him tell her, that all the ſins ſhe had committed
'ſhould be forgiven her; and he told her, that prieſts could
'forgive ſins as well as God, if they would follow their
'directions. That he uſed to chriſten negroes there; he
'chriſtened *Cæſar*, *Quack*, and other negroes, croſſed them
'on the face, had water and other things; and he told them,
'He would abſolve them from all their ſins.

*Priſoner.* How did I ſwear you?

*S. Hughſon.* On a book: I believe it was an *Engliſh* book.

*Priſoner.* Who was preſent when I ſwore you?

*S. Hughſon.* My parents, *Peggy*, *Kane*, and others.

*Priſoner.* You ſay I baptiſed ſeveral people, pray what ceremony did I uſe at baptiſing *?

*S. Hughſon.* When you baptiſed the negroes, you made a croſs upon their faces, and ſprinkled water, and you uſed ſomething elſe, but I cannot tell what; and you talked in a language which I did not underſtand.

*Priſoner.* Whom did I baptiſe?

*S. Hughſon. Cæſar*, *Prince*, *Baſtian*, *Quack*, *Cuffee*, and ſeveral other negroes †.

*Mr.*

* Since the notes upon the extracts out of Ury's journal were made, it has been diſcovered, That John Ryan, whoſe ſon Timothy, Ury has regiſtered to have been baptiſed by him, was an Iriſh ſervant brought hither the ſummer before the plot broke out, by col. Cope, when he came to embarque for the expedition to the Weſt-Indies; which Ryan 'tis ſaid, is a profeſt Roman catholick, ſtill reſiding in this city. See extracts on Ury's journal, and notes thereon. Folio.

† The behaviour of this miſerable wretch was upon this occaſion, beyond expectation, compoſed and decent; ſhe ſeemed to be touched with remorſe and compunction; what came from her, was delivered with all the viſible marks and ſemblance of ſincerity and truth, inſomuch, that the court, jury, and many of the audience, looked upon her at this inſtant, to be under real conviction of mind for her paſt offences, which was ſomewhat ſurpriſing to thoſe who were witneſſes to the reſt of her conduct, ſince her condemnation, and ſeveral reprieves: her evidence (as the reader may obſerve) was regular and uniform, and agreed with the account of the plot, as to the perſons and things ſhe ſpoke to, and was chiefly confirmed by many concurring evidences, and therefore for once, it ſeems but reaſonable and juſt to allow, that ſhe ſpoke the truth.

She was brought this morning to plead her pardon out of the condemned hole, where ſhe had been confined from the time of her condemnation; and when her pardon was pleaded, ſhe was taken from court into a room in cuſtody of the under-ſheriff, where ſhe was to be near at hand for call upon this trial, and there ſhe remained till wanted and was ſent for: and the witneſſes delivered their teſtimony in the order of time they are here placed, out of the hearing of each other, till each reſpective perſon had given their evidence; which is mentioned, that the reader may more particularly obſerve the correſpondence

*Mr. Murray, Counsel for the King.* If your honours please I have a piece of evidence, which I would not offer till I have opened the nature of it; it has been hinted at by Mr. Attorney, in the opening; which is a letter from general *Oglethorpe* to the lieutenant governor, informing him, that a party of *Indians* had returned to *Georgia*, on the eighth of May last, from war against the *Spaniards*, who in an engagement with a party of *Spanish* horse, near *Augustine*, had taken one of them prisoner, and had brought him to the general: that the *Spaniard*, in his examination before the magistrates in *Georgia*, had given some intelligence of a villainous design of a very extraordinary nature, that the *Spaniards* had employed emissaries to burn all the magazines and considerable towns in the *English North-America*, thereby to prevent the subsistence of the *English* fleet in the *West-Indies*; and that for this purpose many priests were employed, who pretended to be physicians, dancing-masters,——and other kinds of occupations; and under that pretence to endeavour to gain admittance and confidence in private families.

I only offer this by way of inducement and illustration of what is strictly evidence, and what I think by law I may; it is to shew in general that there was a plot; (and cited some authorities out of the state trials.)

*Court.* Mr. *Murray*, you must prove that signing to be general *Oglethorpe*'s hand.

It was proved accordingly: and so much of the letter read as relates to the present purpose; which followeth:

*Frederica*, in *Georgia*, 16th May 1741.

'SIR,

'A party of our *Indians* returned the 8th instant from 'war against the *Spaniards:* they had an engagement with 'a party of *Spanish* horse, just by *Augustine*, and brought 'one of them prisoner to me: he gives me an account of 'three *Spanish* sloops, and a snow, privateers, who are sail-'ed from *Augustine* to the northward, for the provision ves-'sels, bound from the northward to the *West-Indies*, hoping 'thereby to supply themselves with flour, of which they are

respondence and remarkable agreement between her evidence, Kane's, and Mary Burton's, which must be seen by every one, that will be at the pains to make the comparison: and Sarah was under ground before, and all the time Kane had been committed; so that there could have been no confabulation between them; nor could Mary Burton have intercourse with either, who was the first white evidence that impeached Kane, and Kane by his confession confirmed her evidence, and now all three confirm each other's.

'in want. Besides this account which he gave to me, he 'mentioned many particulars in his examination before our 'magistrates.

'Some intelligence * I had of a villainous design of a 'very extraordinary nature, and, if true, very important, viz.

* What would make one give yet more heed to this piece of intelligence, is, a paragraph in the American news-papers, the winter before this conspiracy broke out, extracted from those of London, viz. In the Boston Gazette, 1st Decemb. South-Carolina Gazette, 25th Decemb. and the Pensylvania Gazette 1st of January, the last of which has it, as taken from the London papers of the 7th of Octo. 1740.

In order for the reader to make the most he can of it, it is thought proper also to insert the introduction to it; the whole is said to be an extract of a letter from the Hague, as followeth;

The Marquis de Fenelon, ambassador from France, continues to exhort the 'States General to make a common cause with his court for maintaining the 'treaty of Utrecht, in regard to the possessions of his Catholick Majesty in 'America; and for this purpose that their High Mightinesses would join a 'squadron with those of his most Christian Majesty, in order to prevent the 'commerce in the West-Indies from being interrupted by any power what-'soever: the deputies of their High Mightinesses manifested their surprise at 'the proposition of this ambassador, and told him, that it was not by the 'English that their merchants, who traffick to the West-Indies, had in the 'least suffered; but that it was the continual vexations and injurious treat-'ment they had met with from the Spaniards, that they had only cause to 'complain of; and their High Mightinesses had caused representations to 'be made upon this subject at the court of Spain, and had reiterated their 'instances, but all in vain; wherefore their High Mightinesses had found it 'very necessary to grant the protection to their subjects, and to maintain the 'liberty of commerce, which treaties concluded in the most solemn manner, 'had privileged them to do.

'The States General look with a watchful eye upon the designs of the court of 'France, which are, as it is positively assured, to turn the tables upon the English 'in America, by exciting revolts and disturbances in their possessions, and by 'doing every thing in it's power to traverse the designs, and even * to distress 'the English.

The letter writer best knew what assurances there were concerning this matter; surely these pieces of intelligence could not arise from nothing; wherever there is much smoke, it is a necessary conclusion that there must be some fire.

About the time, or soon after, we had the several fires in this city, as related in the introduction, one Luke Barrington, an Irishman, a profest papist (who came to live in the county of Ulster some short time before, and set up for a school-master, and kept school at little Britain) being in company with James Mc Claghry, Peter Mullender and several others; Mullender drank King George's health to Barrington, who taking the bason of liquor into his hand, drank King Philip's, or Philip of Spain's health; Mc Claghry thereupon told Barrington, it was wrong in him to drink the King of Spain's health in that company, especially as it was war with Spain, and if any would inform against him, he might be hanged on that tree, pointing to a tree near by; to which Barrington replied, he scorned to dissemble for any body; that King Philip was his King; and if he would come over with his army, he would take up arms for him, and knock all the English on the head: Barrington staid a day and two nights afterwards in that neighbourhood, and then left it: of this Mc Claghry afterwards made oath before one of his Majesty's council

* In the Boston paper it is ever to distress, &c.

for

'viz. That the *Spaniards* had employed emiſſaries to burn 'all the magazines and conſiderable towns in the *Engliſh* '*North-America*, thereby to prevent the ſubſiſting of the 'great expedition and fleet in the *Weſt-Indies*: and that for 'this purpoſe many prieſts were employed, who pretended 'to be phyſicians, dancing-maſters, and other ſuch kinds 'of occupations; and under that pretence to get admittance 'and confidence in families. As I could not give credit to 'theſe advices, ſince the thing was too horrid for any prince 'to order, I aſked him concerning them, but he would not 'own he knew any thing of them.'

*I am,*

*SIR,*

*Your very humble ſervant,*

Superſcribed, James Oglethorpe.

*To the honourable* GEORGE CLARKE, *Eſq;*

*Lieutenant Governor of* New-York.

*Court*, Mr. *Murray*, Have you any more witneſſes?

Mr. *Murray*. Sir, we ſhall reſt here at preſent.

*Court*. Mr. *Ury*, have you any witneſſes; for now is your time to produce them?

*Priſoner*. *May it pleaſe the King's Judges, and the gentlemen of the Jury,*

'IT is very incongruous to reaſon to think that I can 'have any hand or be any way concerned in this plot 'if theſe things be duly weighed: that after the diſcovery 'of the conſpiracy and the execution of many for it that I 'ſhould act ſuch a lunatick part if I were guilty as to con-'tinue in this city join with Mr. *Campbell* and not only

for this province, living near that neighbourhood, who cauſed diligent enquiry to be made after Barrington, in order to apprehend him; but he was not met with at that time; though it was ſaid, he was taken up ſome time afterwards, and committed to Kingſton goal, and from thence made eſcape.

It ſeems this ſchool-maſter came firſt into thoſe parts the fall before; he was a young man about five and twenty; he pretended to be a miniſter's ſon of the church of England in Ireland; knew many of the Iriſh gentry, and could give an account of their families; he ſaid he left his father in a pet; had travelled into Italy, and confeſſed to ſome, that he turned Roman Catholick there: and as the neighbourhood talked much of his being an extraordinary ſcholar, and of his underſtanding ſeveral languages, the counſellor ſeveral times ſent him an invitation to his houſe; but he never went, nor did that gentleman ever ſee him.—But it was ſaid, that ſome time after his arrival there, he chiefly kept company with the Iriſh ſervants, of which they have many in that part of the country, and the greateſt number of them Roman Catholicks, and they had frequent meetings together.

So that this is a fourth inſtance of ſuſpicious ſchoolmaſters infeſting theſe parts, correſpondent to general Oglethorpe's letter of advice: this man, Ury the prieſt, Holt, a dancing-maſter, and John Corry an Iriſhman, a dancing-maſter, and profeſt papiſt.

'so but publickly advertise my self for teaching of gram-
'mar * yea further that I should still continue even after
'the caution Mr. *Webb* gave me a week and a few days
'before I was taken into custody he told me Mr. *Chamber-*
'*lain* told him that the eyes of this city were fixed on me
'and that I was suspected to be a *Roman* priest and thought
'to be in the plot I answered my innocence would pro-
'tect me I valued not what the world said, again another in-
'stance that must free me from this plot is when Mr.
'*Campbell* went to take possession of *Hughson's* house his
'daughter refusing to go out and she swearing like a life
'guardman I took up the cause Mr. *Campbell* not exert-
'ing himself as I thought was proper at that time and
'told her if she would not go out quietly I would take
'another method with her for I would have no such wick-
'ed person (as she was said to be) live where I was to dwell
'Now reason must pronounce me innocent for had I been
'engaged in their scheme my guilt my fears would have
'forced me to have acted in a very different manner rather
'to have soothed her and gave her liberty to stay till pro-
'vided for instead of not shewing her the least counte-
'nance and further what corroborates my non knowledge
'of this plot is that the negro who confessed as it is said
'that he set fire to the fort did not mention me in
'all his confession doubtless he would not have neglect-
'ed and passed over such a person as I am said to be
'namely a priest and if he was bound by any oath or
'oaths as he confest it shewed he thought it or them of
'no value and therefore would have confessed and laid open
'the whole scheme and all the persons he knew concern-
'ed in it but more especially the priest as it is said I am and
'what is still more strong for my innocency is that nei-
'ther *Hughson* his wife nor the creature that was hanged
'with them and all that have been put to death since did
'not once name me certainly gentlemen if I am a priest
'as you take me to be I could not be so foolish as to en-
'gage my self in so absurd a contrivance as to bind my-
'self with a cord for negroes or what is worse profligate
'whites the scum of this earth superior in villainy to the
'knights of the post to make an halter for me Gentle-
'men as there is a great unknown and tremendous Being
'whom we call God I never knew or saw *Hughson* his
'wife or the creature that was hanged with them to my

* There was no name to his advertisement, as has been remarked.

know-

'knowledge living dying or dead or the negro that is
'ſaid to have fired the fort excepting in his laſt moments
'but put the caſe I had known *Hughſon's* and had been at
'his houſe is it to be inferred from thence that I muſt be
'acquainted with his villainy or knew his ſecrets and as
'he kept a publick houſe which is open and free for all
'is it reaſonable to think that all or any man being
'ſeen at *Hughſon's* muſt make him or them culpable or
'chargeable with his villainy Surely no for if ſo ſad would
'be the caſe of many gentlemen who in travelling the
'countries in *England* who have uſed bad houſes or inns
'and lit into the company of highwaymen who by their
'garb and converſation they took for ſome honeſt country
'gentleman or tradeſman and yet theſe have not been in
'the leaſt ſuſpected But I fear all this trouble of mine
'ſprings from and is grounded upon the apprehenſions of
'my being a *Roman* prieſt and therefore muſt be a plotter
'ſome believing there can be no miſchief in a country but
'a prieſt (if there) muſt be in it Say they that in the
'chain of general woes the firſt and the laſt link muſt be
'tied to the prieſt's girdle. But gentlemen I muſt aſſure
'you from reading and converſation I believe no prieſt
'would hold a confederacy with negroes they are too wiſe
'too cunning to truſt ſuch ſort of gentry It is not men
'of fortune good ſenſe and learning they care to meddle
'with or entruſt in ſuch affairs as plots excepting they be
'men of their own kidney of their own way of thinking
'in religion ſuppoſing a prieſt could be ſo fooliſh or be-
'come ſo non compos mentis as to plot in ſhort a prieſt
'a joint contriver of firing a fort a celebrater of maſſes a
'diſpenſer of abſolutions as it is ſaid I am ſo long paſſed
'by ſuch a particular perſon forgotten No gentlemen
'you muſt think and believe he would have been the next
'perſon after the diſcovery of the plot that would have
'been brought on the carpet And further what is of great
'note is that *Hughſon* was ſworn to be the whole projector
'and carrier on of the plot and if theſe witneſſes knew me
'ſo well as they pretend to how came it about what rea-
'ſon can be aſſigned why they did not bring me out before
'What not know any thing of me before I came to priſon,
'doubtleſs they would have been eager to have betrayed
'me when the ſcheme was diſcovered, for being a prieſt
'and conſequently artful and cunning they would have been
'afraid of my eſcaping No if I had been ingaged, they

'would have ſoon informed thinking to have ſaved their 'own lives knowing how this government ſtands affect-'ed to ſuch gentlemen, And as to the ſecond indictment 'wherein———

*Court.* Mr. *Ury*, if you have any witneſſes to examine, it is more proper you ſhould do that now, and make your defence afterwards.

*Priſoner.* If that be the pleaſure of the judges, I have ſeveral witneſſes; I deſire Mr. *Croker* may be called.

Mr. *Croker* called and ſworn.

*Priſoner.* As I have lodged at your houſe for ſome time, you can beſt give an account of my manner of life and converſation; and pray firſt inform the King's judges, and the jury, if you ever ſaw any negroes come after me.

*Croker.* No, I never ſaw any negroes come after you?

*Priſoner.* Pray give an account of what you know of me.

*Croker.* Mr. *Ury* came to my houſe the ſummer before laſt, and ſtaid a week; and then returned to *Burlington*, and came back laſt November, and ſaid, he was going further; but I prevailed upon him to ſtay to teach my ſon Latin, for which I was to give him his lodging and diet. He taught *Norwood*'s children, and col. *Beekman*'s daughter to write and cypher. Some time ago he went to *Staten-Iſland*, and preached there; and ſaid, he was paid for it: he lodged at my houſe from *November* till a little before *Campbell* took *Hughſon*'s houſe; and while he was with me, he kept pretty good hours; ſometimes he came home by eight or nine, or ten o'clock, and ſometimes ſtaid out till eleven or twelve at night. He once went to *Brunſwick* this ſpring, before the fort was burnt, as I heard, or elſe I do not know that he lay out of my houſe; that once talking of negroes, I heard him ſay, he did not think them proper objects of ſalvation. He uſed to go up ſtairs ſometimes, light a candle in the day time, and lock himſelf up in a room alone.

*Attorney General.* Pray Mr. *Croker* was you in town all the time he lodged at your houſe?

*Croker.* No, I have been out for a day or ſo.

*Attorney General.* Pray Mr. *Croker* what hours did the priſoner uſually come home at?

*Croker.* Sometimes ſooner and ſometimes later: I have known him ſtay out ſometimes till eleven or twelve o'clock, once or twice later; I aſked him why he ſtaid ſo late, and where he had been? He commonly told me he had been at Mr. *Webb*'s; and ſometimes at ſome other private houſes.

*At-*

*Attorney General.* When did *Ury* come to lodge at your houſe, and when did he leave it?

*Croker.* He came to my houſe in November laſt, and left it a little before *Campbell* went to live at *Hughſon*'s houſe.

*Attorney General.* Have you ever heard him preach?

*Croker.* Yes once, and he then ſaid, he was to preach again the next ſunday; and in his prayer before ſermon, he prayed for his Majeſty King *George*, and all the royal family *.

*Joſeph Webb* called for the priſoner and ſworn.

*Priſoner.* Mr. *Webb*, I deſire you will give an account of what you know of me.

*Webb.* I have known Mr. *Ury* ſince November laſt, I was then at work at *John Croker*'s at the fighting cocks, and hearing him reading Latin and Engliſh, and thinking he read well, enquired of *Croker* who he was? He told me he was a ſchoolmaſter lately come from *Philadelphia*; and from this I became acquainted with him, and I aſked him if he would teach a child of mine; and he ſaid he would, if *Croker* would give him liberty of coming to his houſe; which *Croker* agreed to; and I ſent my child to him, and he taught him Latin; and after this I recommended him to col. *Beekman*, to teach his daughter to write and cypher; and he and I growing more intimate, and I obſerving a poor and mean appearance in his habit, I thought his pocket might be anſwerable to it; and I gave him an invitation to my houſe, and told him he ſhould be welcome at my table noon and night at any time, when he ſaw proper; and he frequently came to my houſe accordingly all the winter after: that he uſed often to ſtay at my houſe late in diſcourſing, ſometimes on one ſubject, ſometimes on another: and has ſtaid there, now and then, till eleven or twelve o'clock at night, and I have often gone home with him to his lodging at thoſe hours. Mr. *Ury* told me he was a non juring miniſter; having aſked him, who ordained him, he anſwered me, the ſenior non juror in *England*: I have heard him preach, and have heard him ſay, ſuch a day is my ſacrament day, and he muſt be at ſacrament.

*Attorney General.* Did he ſay he muſt take the ſacrament, or be at ſacrament, or adminiſter the ſacrament?

*Webb.* I cannot be ſure, but I remember he ſaid, it was his ſacrament day.

* Which is beyond what any other witneſs ſays, and contrary to Ury's own pretended principles of a non juror.

*Attorney General.* Was it ſundays or working days he ſaid were his ſacrament days?

*Webb.* I cannot be ſure, but I think I have heard him name both.

*Attorney General.* Do you know any thing of his buying of wafers, or going to a confectioner's?

*Webb.* He aſked me for a confectioner's ſhop, and I ſhewed him Mr. *De Broſſe*'s, where he went along with me; and after he aſked for ſeveral ſorts of ſweet meats, he aſked for wafers; which being ſhewn to him, he aſked Mr. *De Broſſe* if he made wafers for the Lutheran miniſter, and he was told he did, but I do not remember that he bought any of them: I have heard him pray and preach ſeveral times, but don't remember, that ever I heard him pray for King *George*, but in general terms for the King. I am by trade a carpenter, and *Ury* applied to me to make him up ſomething in *Hughſon*'s houſe, which I have heard ſince called an altar; that *Ury* gave me directions for making it, and ſaid, it was a place to lay books on to read, or to put a candle or a bottle and glaſs on, or other ſuch like common uſes; it was two pieces of board, which formed a triangle, and was raiſed againſt the wall, at the bottom of which was a ſhelf; on each ſide there was a place to hold a candle.

*Attorney General.* Do you think if a man wanted a ſhelf or other place to lay a book on to read, or ſet a bottle or glaſs on, he would make it in that form?

*Webb.* I can't ſay; people may have odd humours, but I ſhould not.

*Attorney General.* When you made it, what did you take it for?

*Webb.* I can't ſay; I followed his directions.

*Attorney General.* Do you know any thing of *Ury*'s being impriſoned in *England*?

*Webb. Ury* did tell me that he was impriſoned in *England*; for he ſaid he had wrote a book there, and that the criticks laid hold of it, picked a hole in it and conſtrued it treaſon; but if it was, he ſaid, it was contrary to his intentions.

*Attorney General.* Mr. *Webb*, in your converſations together, what have you heard him ſay about negroes?

*Webb.* We were one day talking about negroes, and I ſaid, I thought they had ſouls to be ſaved or loſt as well as other people; *Ury* ſaid, he thought they were not proper objects of ſalvation; I replied, what would you do with them then,

then, what would you damn them all? No, ſays he, leave them to that great Being that has made them, he knows beſt what to do with them; ſays he, they are of a ſlaviſh nature, it is the nature of them to be ſlaves, give them learning, do them all the good you can, and put them beyond the condition of ſlaves, and in return, they will cut your throats.

*Court.* Mr. *Ury*, would you aſk this witneſs any more queſtions?

*Priſoner.* No, Sir, I have nothing more to aſk.

*Court.* Have you any more witneſſes?

*Priſoner.* Yes, Sir, I have ſome more; I deſire that *John Campbell* and Mrs. *Campbell* may be called.

*John Campbell*, and *Ann Campbell* his wife, ſworn.

*Priſoner.* Mr. *Campbell*, did you ever ſee me at *Hughſon*'s houſe before I went there with you, and what paſſed there?

*John Campbell.* I never ſaw him there till I went to take poſſeſſion of the houſe at *May* day laſt, and then as we were going there together, he ſaid, he did not know the way thither; and when we came down, he took *Gerardus Comfort*'s houſe for it; as for any thing elſe, I know nothing more of him, for I took him for a grave, ſober, honeſt man.

*Priſoner.* Mrs. *Campbell*, will you pleaſe to give an account of what you know of me, and what paſſed between *Sarah Hughſon* and me, when we went to take poſſeſſion of the houſe.

*A. Campbell.* I went with my huſband and Mr. *Ury*, on May-day laſt, to *Hughſon*'s, to take poſſeſſion of the houſe; and when we came there, *Sarah Hughſon* the daughter was in poſſeſſion; and we told her ſhe muſt go out of the houſe; for that my huſband had taken it: Whereupon *Sarah Hughſon* ſwore and curſed at me; and Mr. *Ury* ſaid to her, how dare you talk ſo impertinently and ſaucily to an old woman, you impudent huſſey? go out of the houſe, or I'll turn you out: *Sarah* then ſwore miſerably, and ſaid, you have a houſe now, but ſhall not have one long. I have often heard him pray and ſing pſalms; and he prayed by a ſick woman; I never ſaw any harm by him; my huſband and he were to keep ſchool together.

*Court.* Will you aſk them any more queſtions?

*Priſoner.* No, Sir, I have nothing more.

*Attorney General.* If your honours pleaſe, as the priſoner has been now endeavouring to prove he is not a *Romiſh Prieſt*, and has already inſiſted on it as a part of his defence;

fence; I ſhall beg leave to examine a witneſs or two to that point.

*Court.* Call them then, Mr. Attorney.

*Joſeph Hildreth*, ſchool-maſter, and *Richard Norwood*, called and ſworn.

*Attorney General.* Mr. *Hildreth*, will you give an account of what you know of the priſoner, how you became acquainted with him, and what has paſſed between him and you in converſation from time to time.

*Hildreth.* What I have to ſay, Sir, I have committed to writing. (and produced a paper from his pocket.)

*Ch. Juſtice.* You muſt not read the paper, but you may look into it to refreſh your memory.

*Hildreth.* 'The way I came to hear of, or know this 'Mr. *Ury*, was, that laſt winter, ſome time in *February*, I 'happened to be in company with a friend at Mr. *Cro-* 'ker's, and Mr. *Webb*, joiner, called me aſide, and aſked 'me what ſchool I had; and if I would incline to take a 'partner, one very well verſed in the Engliſh, Latin and 'Greek tongues? I anſwered him, what ſchool I had I could 'very well manage myſelf; I had no inclination for a part- 'ner at all: He ſaid he was a good ſober ſort of a man, and 'underſtood his buſineſs very well, and if we could agree, 'he did not doubt but it would do very well: I anſwered 'him, I inclined to be maſter of my own ſchool alone, tho' 'it was not ſo large as if I had a partner. He ſeeing I had no 'inclination for him, did not tell me who he was.

'Some time after, about ſeven or eight weeks, I had a 'little buſineſs on board capt. *Griffith's*, where I met with 'him and *Webb* in company, which was the firſt time I ever 'ſpoke to him; then, after our ſalutation of each other, he 'began to aſk me ſome queſtions concerning my ſchool and 'method of teaching; after which we ſtepped in at *Baker's*, 'and took a ſerious glaſs together; at which time he took 'a ſmall book out of his pocket (Engliſh and Latin) and con- 'ſtrued (I think) the 117th pſalm; then laying the book on 'the table, I took it up, and was going to look on the title 'page; but he directly ſeized it out of my hands, and told 'me I muſt not look into it, and put it in his pocket.

'Another time at my ſchool, I had ſome diſcourſe with 'him concerning Mr. *Whitefield's* letter in anſwer to Mr. '*Weſley's* ſermon on free-grace; which letter he did not ap- 'prove of at all, and told me, he believed it was through 'the great encouragement the negroes had received from

'Mr.

'Mr. *Whitefield*, we had all this diſturbance; and that he believed Mr. *Whitefield* was more of a Roman than any thing elſe; and he believed he came abroad with no good deſign. Then I aſked him what was the ſignification of a non-juror, as I underſtood he pretended to be? and he anſwered, thoſe that would not take the oaths of allegiance, as he did not: I aſked him why? ſays he, can you ſwear one to be a baſtard? no: no more can they ſay King J——-was one; and the difference between we non-jurors and others, is this; we, in the prayer for the King and Royal Family, mention no names, as they do; I aſked him if they pray'd for the Pretender? he ſaid, for him, let him be who he will, that was the King; he mentioned no names.

'At another time, ſays he, you talk ſo much againſt popery, I believe though you ſpeak ſo much againſt it, you will find you have (or I think will have) a pope in your belly; for, ſays he, the abſolution of the church of *Rome* is not half ſo bad as that of the church of *England* at the viſitation of the ſick: But, ſays I, I don't approve of their confeſſing to prieſts, *&c.* ſays I, there is a deal of wickedneſs and deceit in it: ſays he, no, no; for when any perſon makes confeſſions, the prieſt does not know who they be; for he does not ſo much as ſee them, but only hears and abſolves them: Then, ſays I, I was miſtaken. Oh! ſays he, they ſpeak againſt the church of *Rome*, but don't know them; their prieſts, ſays he, are the moſt learned of men; the articles of the church of *England* were made in diſtracted times. And I obſerved ſeveral times he ſaid, we prieſts, ſays he, your *Roman* prieſts will make you believe, and prove by the plain rules of grammar, that black is white, and white black, and that the wafer and wine is the real body and blood of Chriſt.

'We were often in company; but the beſt part of our diſcourſe was upon ſalvation by faith alone, which he would not allow, nor predeſtination; and he told me, he really believed the moon to be an inhabited planet, and all the ſtars were inhabited; or elſe, ſays he, I would not repeat that part of the Nicene creed, begotten of his Father before all worlds; and, ſays he, many texts of ſcripture confirm it to be ſo.

'I was ſeveral times ſince in his company, but do not remember any thing in particular relating to prieſts, *&c.* But the laſt time I had any thing of diſcourſe was about two days before I heard him preach, and then in his room; I

'ſeeing

'seeing the altar placed in the corner, I asked him what
'that was for? first he said only to lay books on, or for a
'candle to sit and read by; but I told him I could not think
'it; for I supposed it for the sacrament by its form and
'colour; I begged him to let me know what it was; he after
'some time be seriously told me, it was for the sacrament;
'and he told me, I think, every Saint's day it was covered,
'only covered with a piece of white linen; and that he ad-
'ministered on some proper days; and he told me, they re-
'ceived the wafer instead of bread, and white instead of red
'wine: I asked, why the wafer? because, says he, the wa-
'fer is more pure; and no bread he thought pure enough to
'represent the body of our Lord; then going to his small
'box, says he, I'll get a piece and you shall taste it if you
'will; and he brought me a piece, and I took and eat it.

'I think he told me, that some time before he had bap-
'tized a child in the house, but they used more ceremonies
'than we; and he talked as if they anointed and washed
'one another's feet: He told me further, that at the time of
'the celebration, or at what time the sacrament was expos-
'ed, they had lighted candles burning to represent our Sa-
'viour as the light of the world. And when I came in to
'hear him preach, I accordingly saw it as he told me; for
'he told me before, that if I came on sunday evening to
'hear him, I could see it; for the sacrament was on the al-
'tar covered with a white linen cloth, and there were three
'candles burning; but not a minute after I came in, he put
'out the candles, and put his sacrament in his box, and
'locked them up.

'Some time after I became thus acquainted with him, I
'was informed he kept a private meeting, and made use of
'the church form of prayer every sunday evening, at the
'house of Mr. *John Campbell*, in his own hired room.

'My curiosity led me the next sunday evening to go and
'hear him preach; but when I came there, he told me he
'did not make a practice of preaching to any others, but
'those of his own society; and those of his society did not
'make any practice of running to any of our churches or
'meetings; for he did not approve of any such thing; and as
'he was a non-jured minister, so he had a society and mem-
'bers of his own.

'Afterwards he told me, he had some company from
'*Philadelphia*, (I think) and desired to be excused: but
'next sunday evening, if I would call, he would be glad
'to see me.

'The

'The next ſunday evening I accordingly went, and heard 'him diſcourſe upon the ſecond chapter of the ſecond epiſtle 'of St. *Peter*, the 1ſt, 2d and 3d verſes; and before he 'diſmiſſed us, he told us he would preach the next wednes-'day following (being the day his Majeſty began his happy 'reign) upon the 10th chapter of St. *Matthew*, the 18th 'and 19th verſes, adjoining to them the words of our Lord 'to his diſciples, whoſoever ſins ye remit, they are remit-'ted unto them, and whoſoever ſins ye retain, they are 'retained: Which diſcourſe I did not hear.

*Counſel.* Mr. *Ury*, would you aſk this witneſs any queſtions?

*Priſoner.* No, Sir, I have nothing to aſk him.

*Attorney General.* Mr. *Norwood*, will you give the court and jury an account of what you know of the priſoner at the bar?

*Norwood.* I became acquainted with him laſt fall, and I agreed with him in *December* to teach my children to write and read; that ſeveral times in converſation with him, he talked in ſuch a manner that I ſuſpected him to be a Popiſh prieſt. He uſed very often to miſs coming to teach my children at the ſchool time, and made frivolous excuſes; and at laſt I was very angry with him and diſcharged him: That in the evenings he uſed very often to pretend that he muſt go to pray by a ſick perſon by the Engliſh church, that belonged to his ſociety, or that he muſt go and pray with his ſociety by the Engliſh church *: Whereupon I once aſked him to let me go along with him; but he refuſed me, and ſaid it was not proper for any one to go there, who were not of the ſociety; which occaſioned a jealouſy in me, and I had often a mind to have dogged him, to have ſeen where he went, and do not know how it happened, but I never did. That one day I met *Campbell* the ſchool-maſter in the ſtreet, who ſaid to me, what do you think? *Webb* has taken away his ſon from me, and has put him to a ſchool-maſter that lodges at *Croker*'s; and *Campbell* ſaid, d—n him, he is a Popiſh prieſt: And at laſt having a bad opinion of him, I diſcharged him, leſt he ſhould inveigle my children; and I told him, I would have nothing more to ſay to him.

*Court.* Mr. *Ury*, would you aſk this witneſs any thing?

*Priſoner.* No, Sir.

* Hughſon's was near by it.

Mr. *Murray*. *May it pleaſe your honours, and you gentlemen of the Jury,*

That the priſoner is a Romiſh emiſſary, ſent according to the intimation in General *Oglethorpe*'s letter, I think muſt be concluded from what has been given in evidence againſt him; and from the known principles of the Romiſh religion, it may be judged, what inducement the priſoner had to undertake ſo wicked and diabolical a project. The letter of General *Oglethorpe* has been offered by way of inducement, and in aid of other evidence in general, to ſhew that there was a plot; and herein I apprehend we are juſtified by the precedents and authorities in law before cited.

Mr. *Smith* addreſſing himſelf to the court, proceeded as followeth.

Before the priſoner enters upon his defence, we conceive it will be proper to read to him ſome paſſages out of ſundry books, that declare the cuſtoms and uſages of the church of *Rome*, to which his practices among us, as declared by the witneſſes, bear ſome conformity: And unleſs he can make it appear, that his practices are warranted by the uſage of any other church, we conceive they will convince every body, that he is a prieſt of the *Roman* church, and of no other.

And firſt, as to the uſe of ſalt.

*Peter de Moulin*, in his book entitled, *Anatomie de la Meſſe*, 2 part, p. 94. gives us the form of the prieſts exorciſing ſalt, in order to prepare it for their ſuperſtitious uſes in the following words; which, becauſe the priſoner profeſſes himſelf a ſcholar, I ſhall firſt read in the original, and then render it into engliſh.

'Exorciſo te, creatura ſalis, per Deum vivum, per Deum 'verum, per Deum ſanctum, per Deum qui te per Eliſæum 'prophetam, in aquam mitti juſſit, ut ſanaretur ſterilitas a- 'quæ; ut efficiaris ſal exorciſatus, in ſalutem credentium, 'ut ſis omnibus te ſumentibus, ſanitas animæ & corporis, '& effugiat atque diſcedat ab eo loco quo aſperſus fueris, 'omnis phantaſia & nequitia, vel verſutia diabolicæ fraudis 'omniſque ſpiritus in mundus adjuratus, per eum qui ven- 'turus eſt judicare vivos & mortuos & ſeculum per ignem. 'Amen.'

*In* Engliſh *thus*;

*Creature of ſalt, I exorciſe thee by the living God, by the true God, by the holy God, by the God who commanded thee to be put into the water by Eliſha the prophet, that the barrenneſs of*

*of the water might be healed; that thou may'ſt become ſalt exorciſed, for the ſalvation of them that believe; that thou may'ſt be to all who take thee health of ſoul and body; and that from the place where thou art ſprinkled, may fly and depart every apparition and wickedneſs or craftineſs of diabolical fraud, and every unclean ſpirit adjured by him who will come to judge the quick and dead, and the world by fire. Amen.*

As to Popiſh uſe of ſalt in baptiſm, we have a moſt authentick teſtimony in their catechiſm, edited by the decree of the council of *Trent*, in chap. 9. *De Baptiſmi ſacramento*. The 66 queſtion is

'Cur ejus qui baptizatur, ori ſal admoveatur?

*Reſponſio.*

'Accedunt ad exorciſmum aliæ ceremoniæ, quarum ſingulæ ut quæ myſticæ ſint propriam, atque illuſtrem ſignificationem habent, nam cum ſal in illius os qui ad baptiſmum 'adducendus eſt, inferitur hoc ſignificari perſpicuum eſt, 'cum fidei doctrina & gratiæ dono conſequuturum eſſe, ut 'a peccatorum putredine liberetur, ſaporemque bonorum 'operum percipiat, & divinæ ſapientiæ pabulo delectetur.

*In* Engliſh *thus*,

Q. 66. *Why is ſalt put to the mouth of the perſon that is baptized?*

Anſwer. *There are other ceremonies added to exorciſm, of which ſome being myſtical, have a proper and remarkable ſignification; for when ſalt is put into the mouth of him who is to be brought to baptiſm, it is clear that this is ſignified, that he ſhall obtain by the doctrine of faith and gift of grace, a freedom from the corruption of his ſins, partake of the ſavour of good works, and be delighted with the food of divine wiſdom.*

As to the point of abſolution.

We have the *Jeſuits* doctrine concerning it at large; in a book entitled, *Les provinciales, ou lettres ecrites par* Louis Montalte, *à un provincial de ſes amis et au R. R. P. P. Jeſuits ſur la morale a la politique de ces peres. Tom.* II. *Lettre* X. I ſhall only cite one or two paſſages from this letter page 50. which quotes *Le P. Bauni*, p. 15. in theſe words.'

'On peut abſoudre celui qui avoue, que l'eſperance d'etre 'abſous l'a porte a pecher, avec plus de facilité qu'il n'eut 'fait, ſans cette eſperance.

'Et le P Cauſſin defendant cette propoſition dit, p. 211. 'de ſa reſp. à la theol. mor. que ſi elle n' etoit veritable, 'l'uſage de la confeſſion ſeroit interdit à la plu'part du monde 'et qu'il n'y auroit plus d'autre remede aux pechcurs qu' 'une branche d' arbre et une corde.' *In*

*In English thus:*

*A man may be abſolved, ſays further Baunl, who confeſſes that the hope of abſolution encouraged him to commit the greater ſins, which he had not done without ſuch hope. And ſayber Cauſſin defending this propoſition, ſays, that if this was not true, the uſe of confeſſion would be forbidden in the greateſt part of the world; and ſinners would have no other remedy left, but the lime of a true and an holier.*

This is the doctrine of the church of *Rome*, contrary to that of St. *Paul*, who ſays, *ſhall we continue in ſin that grace may abound? God forbid.*

May it pleaſe your honours, this is all that we ſhall mention at preſent, that if the priſoner pleaſes, he may take notice of them in his defence, and ſhew, if he can, that he had another warrant than the church of *Rome*, for the like practices proved by the witneſſes.

*Court.* Mr. *Ury*, now is the time for you to make your defence.

*Priſoner. May it pleaſe the King's Judges, and the gentlemen of the Jury.*

[Here the priſoner read over again that part of his ſpeech, which is ſet forth before, and then proceeded as followeth.]

'And as to the ſecond indictment wherein I ſtand charged with being an eccleſiaſtick perſon made by authority 'from the See of *Rome* that I have celebrated maſſes given 'abſolutions and that I have acknowledged myſelf to be a 'prieſt of the church of *Rome* all which cannot is not 'proved. As to my profeſſing myſelf to be an eccleſiaſtick 'of the church of *Rome* is very improbable if it be conſi-'dered that no gentleman who is a prieſt would be ſo childiſh 'as to tell any perſon out of communion that he is a prieſt 'there muſt be as I have been informed very good proof 'that a perſon is a Roman catholick before a prieſt will 'have any thing to ſay to him and that proof conſiſts in 'the perſons producing a regular certificate from their laſt 'confeſſor and as to my celebrating of maſſes it is very 'unlikely if it be conſidered that if the evidences ſaw me 'celebrating of maſſes they muſt have ſeen more ſeeing 'there can be no maſs without two at the altar and by the 'prieſt's breviary and directory for celebrating of high maſs 'three prieſts two officials and at ſome maſſes four offici-'als twelve a clock As to abſolution it is well known by 'the learned that the ſacrament of penance muſt precede 'which if the evidences are aſked what it means I believe

'they

'they can give no account of. It is not uncommon professing 'themselves Roman catholicks by going to mass or being 'brought up in that way that have any thing to say to a 'priest. And as to those who were not born within the pale 'of that church if not learned that know any thing of her 'doctrines or worship much less to converse with priests as 'priests may before they can partake of any privileges of that 'church they must be catechised and instructed. Now how 'come these persons to know so much to be acquainted 'with priests and their secrets who knew not what mass is 'nor what the difference of a vesper from a compline or a 'compline from a nocturn nor the hours of mass no more 'than we *here* swallows shelter in the winter, but by con-'jecture? As to my books and writings I cannot be deemed 'a Roman catholick either a spiritual person or laick I be-'lieve it cannot with reason be concluded that a person hav-'ing a mass book in possession must therefore be a Papist 'If so a man having the alcoran must be a Mahometan and 'a Presbyterian with a common prayer must from thence 'be a churchman but I believe that will not be allowed by 'any—The written book was transcribed from the secret 'history of *Europe* and after some remarks I told col. *Beek-'man* that it was a very insipid thing and that if a priest 'wrote it he was a very foolish one But now suppose these 'lines are my own thoughts does that make me penable when 'they were never exposed in print and therefore cannot be 'libellous. I remember in the case of *Algernoon Sidney* who 'was beheaded in King James II. reign for writings found 'in his closet which were of his own composing and this was 'thought so wicked and unreasonable an action that King 'William and his parliament took of the attainder of 'high treason and registered it murder. And gentlemen I be-'lieve you cannot be brought to think that such a venerable 'pious and learned gentleman as Mr. *Comyns* could make 'such a mistake as to take a Roman priest for a non-juring 'minister nor yet the gentleman when he recommended 'me to——as a person worthy their notice and bene-'volence which accordingly took effect for I had my pas-'sage paid and provided for till I could get into business.— 'Gentlemen the mistake the major part of the world lyes un-'der is their apprehending that a non-juring priest must be a 'Popish priest. Whereas there is no truer Protestants for they 'are far from having any regard to a Pretender or for setting 'on the throne a Popish Prince to be the head of a Protestant

'church The doctrines they aſſert and ſtand by [illegible]
'ſiſtance and paſſive obedience which is now as [illegible]
'maintained as ever it was in any reign And I [illegible]
'there is no nonjuror either clergy or laity but [illegible]
'themſelves ſuch true ſubjects to the preſent King [illegible]
'as to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy I have
'no now more to ſay but hope and pray that what has been
'offered will be conſidered with minds unprejudiced minds
'prepoſſeſſed with no opinions with minds in a diligent ſearch
'after truth You being gentlemen I hope fearing God re-
'verencing conſcience hating partiality lovers of truth and
'innocency and having a tender regard to life *.

Mr. SMITH ſummed up the evidence for the King and addreſſing himſelf to the court and jury, proceeded as followeth.

'Though this work of darkneſs, in the contrivance of a
'horrible plot, to burn and deſtroy this city, has manifeſt-
'ed itſelf in many blazing effects, to the terror and amaze-
'ment of us all; yet the ſecret ſprings of this miſchief lay
'long concealed: This deſtructive ſcene has opened by
'ſlow degrees: But now, gentlemen, we have at length
'great reaſon to conclude, that it took its riſe from a fo-
'reign influence; and that it originally depended upon cauſ-
'es, that we ourſelves little thought of, and which, perhaps,
'very few of the inferior and ſubordinate agents were inti-
'mately acquainted with.

'The monſtrous wickedneſs of this plot would probably
'among ſtrangers impeach its credit; but if it be conſidered
'as the contrivance of the publick enemy, and the inhuman
'dictate of a bloody religion, the wonder ceaſes.

'What more cruel and unnatural can be conceived, than
'what *Rome* has contrived; yea what more ſavage and bar-
'barous, than what Popery has attempted, and ſometimes
'executed, for the extirpation of that, which the Papiſts
'call hereſy? We need not go ſo far from home as the val-
'lies of *Piedmont*, nor rake into the aſhes of the ancient
'*Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes*, for tragical inſtances of Popiſh
'cruelty.—We need not remind you of the maſſacre at *Pa-*
'*ris*, nor the later deſolations in *France*, nor mention the

* This and the other part of the ſpeech, or defence, delivered by the priſoner, was taken from his paper, which he read in court, from whoſe hands it was obtained the next morning; and it being wrote in the priſoner's own hand, without ſtops or pointing, he apologized therefore to the perſon he delivered it to; and as there were none in the original, the compiler would not riſque altering the ſenſe, by printing it with any: Though it may be remarked, that thoſe who were ſomewhat acquainted with the man, were of opinion, he was not very capable of making them.

'horrible ſlaughters of the Duke *d'Alva* in the Low Coun-
'tries;—We need not recount the many millions of lives,
'that in remote countries, and different ages, have been
'ſacrificed to the Roman idol; nor meaſure out to you, that
'ocean of foreign blood with which the ſcarlet whore hath
'made herſelf perpetually drunk.

'No, gentlemen, the hiſtories of our native country will
'give us a formidable idea of Popery; and inform us of the
'deteſtable principles of that religion. Witneſs the blood of
'our own martyrs (who periſhed in priſons and at the ſtake)
'without beginning higher than my Lord *Cobham*, and re-
'counting their number down to the end of Queen *Mary*'s
'reign.——

—'Witneſs that execrable deſign to blow up King, Lords
'and Commons, in the gun powder treaſon, contrived by
'the Papiſts: That inteſtine fire that broke out in the late
'unnatural civil war, the coals whereof were blown up by
'them.——The bloody maſſacre of many thouſands of
'Proteſtants by the Iriſh Papiſts, about the ſame time?
'The reſtleſs ſpirit of that party, which has broke out in
'plots in almoſt every reign ſince the reformation.—The
'arbitrary and illegal meaſures that preceded the glorious
'revolution; and the unnatural rebellion within our me-
'mory:—Theſe are all evidences of the deſtructive tenden-
'cy of that bloody religion, which in order to promote its
'intereſts, never boggles at the vileſt means, can ſancti-
'fy the moſt execrable villainies; and to encourage its vo-
'taries, will canonize for ſaints, a *Guy Faux* and others,
'ſome of the greateſt monſters of iniquity that ever trod
'upon the face of the earth!

'*Gentlemen*, If the evidence you have heard is ſufficient
'to produce a general conviction, that the late fires in this
'city, and the murderous deſign againſt its inhabitants, are
'the effects of a Spaniſh and Popiſh plot, then the myſtery
'of this iniquity, which has ſo much puzzled us, is unvailed,
'and our admiration ceaſes: All the miſchiefs we have ſuf-
'fered or been threatened with, are but a ſprout from that
'evil root, a ſmall ſtream from that over-flowing fountain of
'deſtruction, that has often deluged the earth with ſlaughter
'and blood, and ſpread ruin and deſolation far and wide.

'We need not wonder to ſee a Popiſh prieſt at this bar,
'as a prime incendiary; nor think it ſtrange that an En-
'gliſhman of that religion and character ſhould be concerned
'in ſo deteſtable a deſign. What can be expected from

'those that profess a religion, that is at war with God and man; not only with the truths of the Holy Scriptures, but also with common sense and reason; and is destructive of all the kind and tender sensations of human nature. When a man, contrary to the evidence of his senses, can believe the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation; can give up his reason to a blind obedience and an implicit faith; can be persuaded to believe, that the most unnatural crimes, such as treason and murder, when done in obedience to the Pope, or for the service of the holy church, by rooting out what they call heresy, will merit heaven: I say, when a man has imbibed such principles as these, he can easily divest himself of every thing that is human but his shape, he is capable of any villainy, even as bad as that which is charged on the prisoner at the bar.

[Thence Mr. *Smith* proceeded to observe on the several parts of the indictment, that were necessary to be proved, in order to convict the prisoner; particularly, that *Quack* did burn his Majesty's house in the fort; that the prisoner did counsel, abet, procure and encourage the said negro to commit that felony. He observed, that the three witnesses, *Mary Burton*, *William Kane* and *Sarah Hughson*, had fully proved the fact. He reminded the jury of the caution that the court had taken in favour of the prisoner, so that none of the three witnesses had heard the testimony, which was given by those which had been examined before them; the particulars of which evidence are before mentioned, and the observations thereon, are here omitted, for brevity sake.]

And then concluded.

'Thus, *gentlemen*, nothing remains to be considered but 'the credit of the witnesses. Indeed two of them have 'been concerned in the plot; but we have proved them (under their present circumstances) to be legal witnesses.—— 'They all give a consistent account of the fact; and if you 'believe their testimony, we think, you can't avoid finding 'the prisoner guilty. You have heard the prisoner's defence; 'which, we conceive, does not affect the main parts of the 'accusation: He tells you that he must have been a lunatick 'to have staid in town after notice, if he had been guilty: 'True; and in some sense he must be supposed to have been 'a lunatick from the time he first concerned himself in this 'detestable plot. Gentlemen, all wickedness is in some sort 'madness; and the degrees of it rise in proportion to the enormity of the crime; and when men have filled up the

'measure

'measure of their iniquity, and are ripe for ruin, they are commonly cut off from all the means of escaping it.

'As to his rough language to *Sarah Hughson* at *Campbell's*, on which he lays some stress; this may be accounted for, as proceeding from other causes than his innocence; either from a personal resentment of a supposed injury to himself, who wanted the room she took up in that house; or perhaps with a design to make a shew that he never had been acquainted with her; for priests, he tells us, are very artful and cunning.—But be this how it will, we conceive it cannot amount to a disproof of the main charge against the prisoner.

'As to what he alledges concerning *Quack*, *Hughson* and his wife, and the creature that died with them, not having accused him; we think very little can be inferred from thence in his favour. As to *Quack*, he accused many in general terms more than he particularly named; and indeed the confession that *Quack* made was in the hurries of death, after he was fastened to the stake. *Hughson*, his wife, and the creature that died with them, confessed nothing at all; therefore nothing can be inferred from their not accusing the prisoner. It seems strange, that Mr. *Vry* could not give us the name of that creature that died with *Hughson* and his wife, seeing, as *Mary Burton* says, he was so well acquainted with her as to have had the liberty of undressing himself in her bed-room.

'As to the prisoner's appeal to God for his innocence; this we conceive witnesses nothing in his favour, but rather against him; for we often find, that the wickedest of men will attempt to cloak their villainies with the same practice, and good men are ever sparing in their appeals to heaven, even in cases where their innocence is concerned.

'He says, that it don't follow from his being at *Hughson's*, that he was guilty of the plot: True; but admitting that he had used that house, his pretence to *John Campbell*, of not knowing it, must have been a piece of craft; and it renders the evidence of his being concerned in the wickedness carried on there, the more probable.

'He says, a priest is more artful and cunning, than to trust negroes, if so foolish or non compos mentis as to plot: But, gentlemen, this proves nothing in the prisoner's favour; for supposing a priest to be concerned in this plot, it was too extensive for him to execute it alone; and therefore, he must trust part of it to such tools as he could find.

'Thus, gentlemen, I have replied to the principal parts of 'the prisoner's defence; from which we conceive there ap- 'pears nothing material for his justification. As to his being 'a *Roman* priest; this was only offered as an inducement to 'the credit of the testimony of the witnesses who were 'brought to prove his being an accessary to the burning of 'his Majesty's house in the fort; and was allowed by the 'court to be given in evidence on this trial, upon the author- 'rities which were produced only for this intent.—That he 'is a priest, is what he has often confessed and never deni- 'ed: He has also confessed, that he is a nonjuring priest, 'and consequently bears no good will to the present govern- 'ment.——But we have no evidence of his having confess- 'ed himself a *Roman* priest.—That he was reputed such, by 'some of his acquaintance, is clear from what *William Kane* 'has told you. That he approved of their practices, seems 'evident from his conversation with Mr. *Hildreth*.

'You have, doubtless, observed, that before the prisoner 'made his defence we read to him, in Latin, sundry passages, 'and one of them out of an authentick book of the *Roman* 'church, being their catechism, published by a decree of 'the council of *Trent*. These passages we translated into 'English, in his hearing; which shew the usages of that 'church to be agreeable to the practice of the prisoner in 'this city. We have shewn from the writings of the Jesuits 'the Popish doctrines concerning absolution; and to what 'an extent they carried that imposture and cheat upon man- 'kind: This also has been read to the prisoner, in French, 'and also translated into English. We urged that the pri- 'soner ought (if he cou'd) to shew that he was a priest of 'some other communion that maintained these usages, and 'preached such doctrines; if not, his performing his priest's 'office in Latin, his baptizing with salt, his use of the cruci- 'fix; his exposing the sacrament by lighted candles; his 'preaching upon those texts upon which the Papists pretend 'to found the Pope's supremacy, and, his declared power 'to forgive sins as well as God Almighty, will undoubtedly 'fix the brand of a *Roman* priest upon him.—To all this 'the prisoner has made nothing that can be properly called 'a defence. He says, indeed, that there is no proof of his 'having confessed himself a *Roman* priest, nor that he has 'celebrated mass. He tells us also that nonjurors are not Pa- 'pists; that their principle is passive obedience and non-re- 'sistance; and seems willing to screen himself under that 'denomination.

'But,

'But, gentlemen, though we have not proved, that the 'prisoner is a *Roman* priest, by his own confession, or 'his celebration of mass; yet he has not denied that the 'instances proved against him, are notorious badges of po-'pery; and such as we conceive will leave it past any rea-'sonable doubt, that if he is a priest at all, he is a priest of 'the *Romish* church.

'However, gentlemen, as I observed before, the princi-'pal point in this trial, is to prove that the prisoner was an ac-'cessary to the burning of the King's house in the fort; if 'you find also that he is a *Romish* priest, then tho' he is guil-'ty, as the indictment charges him, and has acted a most 'wicked part in the publick and private mischiefs that have 'troubled us, yet he has acted consistent enough with the 'principles of that corrupt and apostate church, whereof he 'is a member; and all that the witnesses have declared a-'gainst him, is the more easy to be believed.

*Gentlemen,*

'I shall add no more; but leave you to the direction of 'the court, and your own consciences; not doubting but 'that you will weigh the evidence which has been produc-'ed, and give such a verdict in the present case as will be 'consistent with your oath and duty.

Then the chief Justice charged the jury, and a constable being sworn to attend them, they withdrew; and having staid out about a quarter of an hour, returned, and found the prisoner *guilty* of the indictment.

## Supreme Court.

### THURSDAY, 30th JULY.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Justice.*

*The second and third Justices.*

The KING,

*against*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Adam, | MURRAY's, | *Negroes.* |
| Tom, | LIVINGSTON's, | |
| Tickle, | CARPENTER's, | |
| Sandy, | NIBBLET's, | |

THE prisoners having been indicted for the conspiracy, were set to the bar, and arraigned, and all of them pleaded *guilty* to the indictment.

The KING *against* Billy, Ebbitson's negro.

Proclamation having been made, and none appearing to profecute, the prifoner was difcharged.

Supreme Court.

*SATURDAY*, 1ſt AUGUST.

PRESENT,

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

Court opened and adjourned to monday the third inſtant, ten o'clock in the morning.

The KING *againſt* Eighteen negroes, viz.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Jack*, | Slydal's, | *Jack*, | Breaſted's, |
| *Sandy*, | Niblet's, | *Cæſar*, | Horſfield's, |
| *Tickle*, | Carpenter's, | *Harry*, | Furman's, |
| *Low*, | Dav. Provooſt's, | *London*, | Kelly's, |
| *Jeffery*, | J. Brown's, | *York*, | Thomas's, |
| *Sam*, | Peter Lowe's, | *Windſor*, | Myers Cohen's, |
| *Jack*, | Murray's, | *Tom*, | Livingſton's, |
| *Adam*, | | *Goſport*, | Bound's, |
| *Toby*, | Wendover's, | *Tom*, | Hyer's. |

The priſoners being ſet to the bar, pleaded his Majeſty's pardon; which was read, and allowed of.

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning 11 o'clock.

This day a warrant was iſſued for apprehending the negroes, *John* alias *Jack*, and *Cambridge*, belonging to Mr. CODWISE, *Cæſar*, to ISRAEL HORSFIELD, and *Guiſo*, alias *Galick*, to TIMOTHY HORSFIELD, all of *King's* county, being charged with being concerned in the conſpiracy; and they were all but *Jack* taken accordingly, and committed to the jail of this city.

Supreme Court.

*FRIDAY*, 31ſt JULY.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Juſtice.*

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

Court opened and adjourned till to-morrow morning eleven o'clock.

Supreme

Supreme Court.

*MONDAY, 3d* AUGUST.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Justice.*

*The second Justice.*

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning eleven o'clock.

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY, 4th* AUGUST.

PRESENT

*The Chief Justice.*

*The second and third Justices.*

The KING

*against*

John Ury, *alias* Jury.

ON motion of Mr. Attorney General, the prisoner was called up to judgment; and being set to the bar and asked, whether he had ought to say in arrest thereof, why sentence of death should not be pronounced against him? he had nothing to offer; but requested the favour of the court, that they would allow him as much time as they could, before his execution, for the settling his private affairs.

Then the Chief Justice (after taking notice of the heinousness of the offence of which he was convicted; the dangerous and pernicious tendency of the doctrines of the church of *Rome*, which emboldened her disciples to embarque in the most hazardous, wicked and inhuman enterprises; which he illustrated from several passages cited from the works of the late archbishop TILLOTSON) he exhorted the criminal to make a candid and ingenuous confession of his guilt, and an ample discovery of his accomplices in this dark confederacy, and to improve the time the court would indulge him with to the best advantage, in order for his preparation for another world, whither he was soon going to give an account of his actions.

He was sentenced to be hanged on next Saturday sevennight, the fifteenth instant.

An ordinance published for enlarging the term of sitting of this court to the first Tuesday in September next.

Court adjourned to Tuesday the 11th instant, eleven o' clock in the morning.

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY*, 11th AUGUST.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Juſtice.*

The KING

*againſt*

Juan, *alias* Wan, *a Spaniſh negro.*

Ordered, That *Juan*, alias *Wan*, be executed according to his former ſentence, on Saturday next, between the hours of nine and one of the ſame day.

Court adjourned till to morrow morning eleven o'clock.

Supreme Court.

*WEDNESDAY*, 12th AUGUST.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Juſtice.*

Court opened and adjourned to Tueſday the 18th inſtant, ten o'clock in the morning.

*SATURDAY*, 15th AUGUST.

THIS being the day appointed for the execution of *John Ury*, his honour the lieutenant governor was pleaſed, upon the humble petition of the ſaid *Ury*, to reprieve the ſame till wedneſday following.

*Juan*, alias *Wan de Sylva*, the *Spaniſh* negro, condemned for the conſpiracy, was this day executed according to ſentence: he was neatly dreſſed in a white ſhirt, jacket, drawers and ſtockings, behaved decently, prayed in *Spaniſh*, kiſſed a crucifix, inſiſting on his innocence to the laſt.

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY*, 18th AUGUST.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Juſtice.*

*The ſecond Juſtice.*

The court opened and adjourned to Thurſday the 20th inſtant, 11 o'clock in the morning.

Supreme Court.

*THURSDAY*, 20th AUGUST.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Juſtice.*

Court opened and adjourned to Tueſday the 25th inſtant.

Su-

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY*, 25th AUGUST.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Justice.*

Court opened.

The KING
*against*
John Ury.

THE prisoner *John Ury*, being set to the bar, and asked, what he had to say, why execution should not be awarded against him according to his former sentence? and having nothing to alledge,

Ordered, That the said *John Ury* be executed according to the said sentence, on Saturday next, between the hours of nine and two of the same day.

Court adjourned to Monday the 31st instant.

*SATURDAY*, 29th AUGUST.

THIS day *John Ury* was executed according to sentence, being asked by the sheriff, whether he had any speech or paper to deliver? He answered, he had given one to his friend, or *Webb* (the person who attended him at the gallows:) he repeated somewhat of the substance of it before he was turned off: a copy of this paper was made in the goal (from one delivered by *Ury* himself in his own hand writing) from which the following was taken.

*The last Speech of* JOHN URY.

'*Fellow Christians*,

'I AM now going to suffer a death attended with ignominy and pain; but it is the cup that my heavenly 'Father has put into my hand, and I drink it with pleasure; it is the cross of my dear Redeemer, I bear it with 'alacrity; knowing that all that live godly in *Christ Jesus*, 'must suffer persecution; and we must be made in some 'degree partakers of his sufferings, before we can share in 'the glories of his resurrection: for he went not up to 'glory before he ascended mount *Calvary*; did not wear 'the crown of glory before the crown of thorns. And I am 'to appear before an awful and tremendous GOD, a Being of infinite purity and unerring justice; a God who by 'no means will clear the guilty, that cannot be reconcil-

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'ed either to ſin or ſinners: Now this is the Being at whoſe 'bar I am to ſtand; in the preſence of this God, the poſ-'ſeſſor of heaven and earth, I lift up my hands, and ſolemn-'ly proteſt, I am innocent of what is laid to my charge: 'I appeal to the great God for my non-knowledge of '*Hughſon*, his wife, or the creature that was hanged with 'them; I never ſaw them living, dying or dead; nor never 'had I any knowledge or confederacy with white or black, 'as to any plot; and, upon the memorials of the body and 'blood of my deareſt Lord, in the creatures of bread and 'wine, in which I have commemorated the love of my 'dying Lord, I proteſt that the witneſſes are perjured; I 'never knew the perjured witneſſes but at my trial. But 'for a removal of all ſcruples that may ariſe after my death, 'I ſhall give my thoughts on ſome points.

'Firſt, I firmly believe and atteſt, That it is not in the 'power of man to forgive ſin; that it is the prerogative on-'ly of the great God to diſpenſe pardon for ſin; and that 'thoſe who dare pretend to ſuch a power, do in ſome de-'gree commit that great and unpardonable ſin, the ſin a-'gainſt the Holy Spirit; becauſe they pretend to that pow-'er which their own conſciences proclaim to be a lie.

'Again, I ſolemnly atteſt and believe, That a perſon 'having committed crimes that have or might have proved 'hurtful or deſtructive to the peace of ſociety, and does 'not diſcover the whole ſcheme, and all the perſons con-'cerned with them, cannot obtain pardon from God: and 'it is not the taking any oath or oaths that ought to hin-'der him from confeſſing his guilt, and all that he knows 'about it; for ſuch obligations are not only ſinful, but un-'pardonable, if not broken: now a perſon firmly believ-'ing this, and knowing that an eternal ſtate of happineſs 'or miſery depends upon the performance or non-perfor-'mance of the above-mentioned things, cannot, will not 'trifle with ſuch important affairs.

'I have no more to ſay by way of clearing my innocen-'cy, knowing that to a true chriſtian unprejudiced mind, 'I muſt appear guiltleſs; but however, I am not very ſol-'citous about it. I rejoice, and it is now my comfort '(and that will ſupport me and protect me from the croud 'of evil ſpirits that I muſt meet with in my flight to the re-'gion of bliſs aſſigned me) that my conſcience ſpeaks peace 'to me.

'In-

'Indeed, it may be ſhocking to ſome ſerious Chriſtians, 'that the holy God ſhould ſuffer innocency to be ſlain by 'the hands of cruel and bloody perſons (I mean the wit-'neſſes who ſwore againſt me at my trial) indeed, there 'may be reaſons aſſigned for it, but as they may be liable 'to objections, I decline them; and ſhall only ſay, that 'this is one of the dark providences of the great God, in 'his wiſe, juſt and good government of this lower world.

'In fine, I depart this waſte, this howling wilderneſs, 'with a mind ſerene, free from all malice, with a forgiving 'ſpirit, ſo far as the goſpel of my dear and only Redeemer 'obliges and enjoins me to, hoping and praying, that 'JESUS, who alone is the giver of repentance, will con-'vince, conquer and enlighten my murderers ſouls, that 'they may publickly confeſs their horrid wickedneſs before 'God and the world, ſo that their ſouls may be ſaved in 'the day of the Lord JESUS.

'And now a word of advice to you, ſpectators: behold 'me launching into eternity; ſeriouſly, ſolemnly view me, 'and aſk yourſelves ſeverally, how ſtands the caſe with me? 'die I muſt: am I prepared to meet my Lord, when the 'midnight cry is echoed forth? ſhall I then have the wed-'ding garment on? Oh ſinners! trifle no longer; conſider 'life hangs on a thread, here to-day and gone to-morrow; 'forſake your ſins ere ye be forſaken for ever: hearken, 'now is God awfully calling you to repent, warning you by 'me his miniſter and priſoner, to embrace JESUS, to take, 'to lay hold on him for your alone Saviour, in order to eſ-'cape the wrath to come; no longer delay, ſeeing the ſum-'mons may come before ye are aware, and you ſtanding 'before the bar of a God who is a conſuming fire out of 'the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſhould be hurled, be doomed to 'that place, where their worm dies not, and their fire is 'never to be quenched *.

Note, This copy differs from that ſuppoſed to have been printed at *Philadelphia* ſoon after *Ury*'s execution, which perhaps might have been altered and corrected by ſome of his aſſociates; as alſo that of his defence made at his trial, which was printed with it; for that in the foregoing trial was taken from a copy literally tranſcribed from one deli-vered in his own hand writing, without points; it was there-fore printed with *Ury*'s miſ-ſpellings, and unpointed, that the reader may have a ſpecimen of his ſcholarſhip, and from

* See Langhorn's dying ſpeech, ſtate trials, 2d Volume.

thence

thence conjecture, whether the defence and dying ſpeech were of his own genuine product.

The following account concerning this perſon, comes from a gentleman who had ſeveral converſations with him between the time of his ſentence and execution, who ſays *Ury* informed him,

'That his father was ſecretary to the South Sea company, but died when the ſaid *Ury* was young.

'That after the death of his father he was taken care of by a gentleman who bore the character of a non-juror, but who, he had ſince reaſon to believe, was a Jeſuit.

'That he was educated at two univerſities.—But what univerſities they were he did not care to tell me.

'That afterwards he became a non-juring clergyman; and that the head of their ſociety was one Dr. *Clarke*.

'That while in this character, he was taken up and tried for writing a book againſt the government; of which he was found guilty: upon this account, a chapel he had of his own, and which brought him in 50*l.* ſterl. per annum, was ſeized into the hands of the government, and he himſelf eſcaped with his life, only through the character and intereſt of his friends. Being thus reduced to difficult and diſgraceful circumſtances, he could not bear to ſtay in a place where he had once lived in honour and credit; and this occaſioned his removal into *America*.

Says the gentleman, 'I had a great curioſity to know how far this account of himſelf was true; and he having often told me, that he was intimately acquainted with a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed worth and character in *London*, with whom I had ſome correſpondence by letters; I wrote to that gentleman, deſiring, if he knew any thing of this *John Ury*, that he would give me a particular account of him and his circumſtances:

'In anſwer to my requeſt, he informed me,

'That *John Ury*'s father was a ſecretary in the South Sea, but diſmiſſed before the great advance of it in 1720; ſo that he had no ſhare in thoſe gains. That when he died he left his family in the utmoſt diſtreſs and poverty.—This *John Ury* had been a ſort of a ſhop-boy, to carry meſſages, but educated to no buſineſs or profeſſion.

'His higheſt ambition was to be a common ſervant in a family: he profeſſed great religion, went often to worſhip with the diſſenters, but always communicated with

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'the church of *England*. He never heard of his writing a-'gainſt the government, nor believed him capable of it, 'being without education: at laſt, being diſappointed in 'moſt of his deſigns, he fell into diſtraction.—From which 'time this gentleman heard nothing of him, till the melan-'choly news from *America*, which was about the ſpace of 'three years.'

Supreme Court.

*MONDAY*, 31ſt AUGUST.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Juſtice.*

*The ſecond and third Juſtices.*

The Grand Jury being called, and appearing, were diſcharged.

The KING

*againſt*

John Corry, *dancing-maſter*.

*JOHN CORRY*, impeached of the conſpiracy, being placed at the bar, and no perſon appearing to proſecute, was diſcharged by proclamation.

The KING

*againſt*

| | |
|---|---|
| Andrew Ryan, | Edward Murphy, |
| Edward Kelly. | Peter Conolly, |
| John Coffin, | David Johnſon. |

THE priſoners, alſo impeached of the conſpiracy, being placed at the bar and proclamations made, and no one appearing to proſecute, they were diſcharged.

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

*Evidence affecting* John Corry.

Notes of (*Mary Burton*'s) (*William Kane*'s) Exam. 13th June p. 278.

*William Kane*'s examination, N° V. p. 281. § 3, 6.

*Evidence affecting* Andrew Ryan.

*Mary Burton*'s depoſition, N° VII. 266.

*Evidence affecting* Edward Kelly, *ſoldier*.

*William Kane*'s examination, N°. II. § 10, 11. p. 258.

☞ See *Will*, Ward's negro's confeſſion at his execution, upon which only *Kane* himſelf was taken up, pag. 252. § 3, 4.

*Evi-*

*Evidence affecting* John Coffin.

*William Kane*'s exam. N°. II. p. 256, 257. § 1, 2, 5, 9.
*Sarah Hughſon*'s exam. 8th July, p. 268. § 2.
10th July, p. 271. § 16.

But his perſon exactly anſwered her deſcription in her firſt examination.

*Mary Burton*'s depoſition, N°. VIII. § 5. pag. 266.
*William Kane*'s examination, V. pag. 267.

*Evidence affecting* Edward Murphy.

*William Kane*'s examination, N°. III. pag. 265.
*Mary Burton*'s depoſition, VI. pag. 265.
VIII. pag. 266.

*Evidence affecting* Peter Conolly.

*William Kane*'s examination, N°. II. § 10. pag. 258.

*Evidence affecting* David Johnſon.

*William Kane*'s examination, N°. IV. pag. 266.

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY*, 1*ſt* SEPTEMBER.

PRESENT,

*The third Juſtice.*

AN ordinance for enlarging the preſent term to the third Tueſday of this inſtant September, publiſhed in court.

Court adjourned to Friday the 4th *September* inſtant, 11 o'clock in the morning.

Supreme Court.

*FRIDAY*, 4*th* SEPTEMBER.

PRESENT,

*The third Juſtice.*

COURT opened and adjourned to Tueſday the 8th inſtant, 11 o'clock in the morning.

This day his honour the lieutenant governor, by and with the advice of his Majeſty's council, iſſued a proclamation, 'Commanding and directing Thurſday the 24th day of September inſtant, to be ſet apart and obſerved as a day of public and general Thankſgiving to Almighty God, for his late mercies vouchſafed to us, in delivering his Majeſty's ſubjects of this Province from the deſtruction with which they were ſo generally threatened by this horrible and execrable conſpiracy.'

Su-

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY*, 8th SEPTEMBER.

PRESENT,

*The third Justice.*

COURT opened and adjourned to Friday 11th instant, 11 o'clock in the morning.

Supreme Court.

*FRIDAY*, 11th SEPTEMBER.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Justice.*

COURT opened and adjourned to Tuesday the 18th instant, ten o'clock in the morning.

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY*, 18th SEPTEMBER.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Justice.*

THE court opened and adjourned to the third Tuesday in October next; being the first day of the ordinary October term.

*THURSDAY*, 24th SEPTEMBER.

THIS being the day appointed by his honour the lieutenant governor's proclamation of the 14th instant, to be observed throughout this province, as a day of publick thanksgiving, for the deliverance of his Majesty's subjects here from the destruction wherewith they were so generally threatned by the late execrable conspiracy; the same was decently and reverently observed accordingly.

*Thomas Hughson*, (father of *John Hughson* executed) and four of his Sons, viz. *Richard*, *William*, *Nathaniel* and *Walter*, having been indicted by the first Grand Jury, as parties concerned in the conspiracy, they still remained under confinement in *Westchester* county goal, and from thence petitioned the Judges of the Supreme Court this day, as followeth:

'*May it please your Honours*;

'Our being so long confined in prison, and at this season of the year, has almost reduced our families to become 'a publick charge, and we are likely to perish should we be 'continued here the approaching winter.

'We are innocent of the crime laid to our charge, and 'hope it would appear, were [we to] be tried, and we humbly pray, that if the law will admit of it, we may be delivered to bail, which we can procure, until you shall think 'proper to try us.

'But if the law will not admit us to be bailed, rather 'than to suffer here, and our wives and children should 'perish at home, or be burthensom to their neighbours, 'we are willing to accept of a pardon, to prevent our being 'further molested on account of the indictment found against 'us, and to depart this province, and never to make any 'settlement any more therein; and we humbly pray your 'honours to procure the same for us, and in such manner, that we may be released as soon as possible; and we 'remain,

*Your most obedient, though distressed,*
*Humble Servants,*
Thomas Hughson,
Richard Hughson,
William Hughson,
Nathaniel Hughson,
Walter Hughson.

Whereupon, as matters were circumstanced at this time, the judges thought proper so far to comply with the prayer of the petition, as to recommend them to his honour the lieutenant governor for a pardon, upon condition of their leaving the province. And some days afterwards they were let out upon bail, having entered into recognizances with sureties for their appearance at the Supreme Court on the first day of the next term.

Supreme Court.

*TUESDAY*, 20th OCTOBER.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Justice.*
*The second Justice.*

Court opened with the usual forms.

The KING
*against*
Richard Hughson,
Thomas Hughson,
William Hughson,
Nathaniel Hughson,
Walter Hughson.

THE *Hughsons* appeared in court, and were ordered to attend again to-morrow morning. Court

Court adjourned till to-morrow morning 10 o'clock.

Supreme Court.

WEDNESDAY, 31ſt Octobr.

PRESENT,

*The Chief Juſtice.*
*The third Juſtice.*

The KING
*againſt*
Richard Hughſon,
Thomas Hughſon,
William Hughſon,
Nathaniel Hughſon,
Walter Hughſon.

THE *Hughſons* appeared in diſcharge of their recognizances, and pleaded his Majeſty's moſt gracious free pardon; which was read and allowed of; and they were diſcharged.

The pardon was upon condition of their leaving the Province by a day therein limited.

# JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS againſt the Conſpirators at *NEW-YORK*: 1742.

## *JANUARY.*

UPON the return of the veſſels that had tranſported the negro conſpirators the laſt ſummer, to various foreign parts, many particulars of intelligence concerning the conſpiracy, which had dropt from thoſe criminals in their diſcourſe with the captains, paſſengers and others, were brought hither; from which there was reaſon to apprehend, that this city and people were not yet out of danger from this helliſh confederacy, which had been ſo wickedly and maliciouſly formed againſt both; and conſidering the hints the negroes gave concerning the execrable oath the conſpirators had engaged themſelves in; it ſeemed probable, that the like attempts would be renewed, notwithſtanding the many examples that had been made by executions, and the number of ſlaves ſent out of the Province; for the conſpirators impiouſly looked upon the oath to be ſo ſacred,

that they thought (as no doubt they were made to believe) that the eternal welfare of their ſouls depended upon their ſtrict obſervance and execution of it; for fear (as the cant was, both of whites and blacks) that if they ſhould reveal it, or deſiſt from the execution of the engagements they were laid under by it, they ſhould wrong their own ſouls.

Many cabals of negroes alſo had been diſcovered in diverſe parts of the country, ſince the execution and tranſportation of the conſpirators, which juſtly cauſed ſuſpicion, that the ſame villainous ſcheme was yet in agitation; particularly in *Queen's* county, on *Naſſau*, alias *Long-Iſland*; the negroes had there formed themſelves into a company about Chriſtmas laſt, by way of play or diverſion (as they would have had it thought) had muſtered and trained with the borrowed arms and accoutrements of their maſters, (or we would rather ſuppoſe, ſurreptitiouſly obtained) information whereof having been given to his honour the lieutenant governor, he immediately ordered his Majeſty's attorney general to write to the juſtices of that county about it, and to expoſtulate with them upon the occaſion, and direct them to inflict due puniſhment on the offenders.

And the negroes were accordingly chaſtiſed for this daring piece of inſolence.

There having alſo been reports about the ſame time, of ſeveral pretended prophecies of negroes, That *Charles-Town* in *South-Carolina*, and the city of *New-York*, were to be burnt down on the twenty fifth of March next; theſe circumſtances conſidered, and added to what had been wrote by general *Oglethorpe*, as before mentioned, that the declared enemies had ſecretly conſpired to burn down and deſtroy all his Majeſty's magazines in *North-America*; and conſidering what a ſcene of monſtrous iniquity had been diſcovered the laſt ſummer, tending to this deteſtable purpoſe; there ſeemed to be too much reaſon to ſuſpect, that theſe ſort of divinations were founded upon a conſpiracy ſtill ſubſiſting, as well as in part executed, both here and in *South-Carolina*.

The lieutenant governor therefore thought it neceſſary to put the people upon their guard, by writing circular letters to the magiſtrates of every city, borough, and county within this government.

The following letter was ſent, directed to the mayor, recorder and aldermen of this city.

Gen-

'Gentlemen, 26th JANUARY, 1742.

'After the providential discovery of the late most execrable conspiracy, and the hellish and barbarous designs of a perverse and blood-thirsty people, for the ruin and destruction of the whole Province, and the inhabitants thereof; and that even at a time when all things were ripe for execution, and the intended desolation was so nigh at hand; one would think our signal preservation could never be forgot; and that no one could be so blind to himself, and regardless of his future safety, as to suffer the negroes to have private or publick meetings and caballings together; thereby giving them an opportunity of forming new designs, or another conspiracy; knowing them to be a people whom no example can reclaim, no punishment deter, or lenitives appease; yet for the many undoubted informations I have received from diverse parts of the country, the insolence of the negroes is as great, if not greater, than ever; and they are not only suffered to have private, but even publick meetings, in great numbers, without the least molestation or interruption from the magistrates, and in defiance of those laws they ought to be the protectors of, and see put in due execution; thereby suffering them and themselves to be trampled on and insulted, to the endangering the peace of the province: If this practice continues, what may we not fear? For I doubt there are too many yet remaining among us who were of the late conspiracy; and though we have felled the tree, I fear it is not entirely rooted up. I must therefore require you, as you value the peace and safety of this city and province, and your own preservation; and you are hereby strictly charged and required, to see the laws against negroes duly and punctually executed; suffering no meetings of them within your city and county and several districts: and, in order that the same may be more effectually done, I do hereby direct you to charge all the constables and other officers, to be diligent in their duty, and that they apprehend and bring before you, or some of you, all and every one so offending; as also all such person and persons as shall be found to harbour negroes, confederate or consort with them, that they may be proceeded against according to law. And in order that every one may have notice hereof, I do direct, that you cause this letter to be read from time to time at your general quarter sessions; and that you give in charge to the

grand juries, that they make enquiries concerning the offenders: I doubt not but you will have regard to it, as it so highly concerns you all; and that you will take such prudent measures as may prevent any future disturbance.

I am,

Gentlemen,

*Your most humble servant,*

GEO. CLARKE.

## TUESDAY, 2d FEBRUARY.

At the general quarter sessions of the peace, held this day for the city and county of *New-York*.

The Grand Jury being called and sworn, the above letter was read; and the recorder after observing upon, and endeavouring to enforce the same by his charge, likewise recommended to them to enquire in general concerning tavern-keepers and inn-holders entertaining of negroes at their houses, as a crime of most pernicious and dangerous tendency; and having received information concerning *M'—* and *Whitfield*, two tavern-keepers, that they were much suspected of being guilty of that vile practice (notwithstanding the latter was convicted upon an indictment found against him for the like crime, and fined thereupon the last summer) the recorder gave them particularly in charge.

Hereupon the Grand Jury, as they were about to be discharged, reported, That they had enquired into the respective neighbourhoods of those two persons, and that they could get no sufficient information concerning this matter whereon to found an accusation against them.

But how well grounded the lieutenant governor's apprehensions were, concerning the danger which still threatned us from the conspirators remaining amongst us, may be conceived from what follows.

## MONDAY, 15th FEBRUARY.

This morning about six o'clock, it was providentially discovered, that some fire had been put in the gutter of a shed adjoining to the house where *Walter Hyer* lived, near the fence of the old Dutch church-yard: the wind blowing very hard at N. and the gutter lying N. and S. some of the coals were blown into the street, which were accidentally discerned by one *Hendricks*, a carpenter, who was opening the window-shutters of a new house he was about finishing, fronting the end of the street in order to go to work;

where-

whereupon he immediately went to *Hyer*'s house, and called him out of bed; and they found some live coals in the gutter next the street towards the church-yard, and likewise a brand's end, or the bark of a brand's end, on the other side of the house next *Ratsey*'s: the mayor being acquainted herewith, he summoned the magistrates to meet that morning at the city-hall, to consult what steps to take, in order to discover the incendiaries: and the magistrates being accordingly met, it was proposed by one of them, as no particular person was suspected, that they should all go and view the house, and enquire what negroes were in the neighbourhood, and their characters; whereby the most suspicious might be laid hold of and examined: it was thought most likely, that by this method the truth might chance to bolt out: they went accordingly; and it luckily happened, that the first person's negro enquired after, was the widow *Brad*'s. She kept a bake-house next by, and her yard ran along the rear of *Hyer*'s and *Ratsey*'s houses, up to the church-yard fence, where was an heap of oister shells lying so near *Hyer*'s gutter, that a middle-sized man might easily step up and put fire in the gutter, at the North end of it, and from the same yard as easily throw a brand's end on the other side of the house next *Ratsey*'s: Upon the enquiry, it was said that the widow *Brad* had only one negro, a sort of a simple half-witted boy; but however he was ordered to be brought forth; and he appeared upon view to be a lusty well-set fellow, of man's growth, and was afterwards judged (by those that knew him best, and had brought him into the country) to be one of two and twenty years old; his natural countenance was none of the pleasantest; but his appearance upon this occasion betokened symptoms of guilt: It was thought that baker's servants, from the nature of their business, must be early up, and have always a command of fire, which administred some colour of suspicion, which the looks of the fellow very much heightened; and therefore he was without ceremony committed, in order for examination in the afternoon, and likewise some other negroes of the neighbourhood, who were afterwards discharged.

The magistrates being met at three o'clock in the afternoon, and *Tom* asked, how he came to put the fire to *Hyer*'s house, and who advised and assisted him in it? he directly owned, that he put the fire in the gutter himself: and being then very particularly examined, his confession was taken down in writing, in the presence of the justices, and by them signed.

*The confession followeth.*

1. *Tom* confesseth and saith, 'That the sunday before last he being in the yard of capt. *Jasper Farmer*, a playing for pennies with *Jack* a negro belonging to said *Farmar*, a negro belonging to *Samuel Dunscombe*, a negro belonging to *John Tudor* called *Peter*, and a negro belonging to *Charles Crooke (Rob)*; *Jack* told him *(Tom)* that his mistress was cross to him, he should take fire and throw it upon the shed or offdackye *, and set them on fire; that if he the said *Tom* did not do it, he *(Jack)* would poison him: that *Jack* told him this in the hearing of *Peter*.

2. 'That *Jack* told him, if he fired the shed, that would fire the house of capt. *Ratsey*, and his mistress's house too, and her in it: that *Jack* told him (*Tom*) that in firing the shed, that would fire the whole town, and then the negroes in town, with the negroes that were to come from *Long-Island*, would murder the white people; and that he said this in the presence and hearing of all the negroes above mentioned.

3. 'That all the negroes above mentioned said, that when the negroes came from *Long-Island*, they could do it all at once (that is) murder the white people; and that they would assist or help in murdering of the whites, and then they would be rich like the † *Bacharara*.

4. 'That *Jack* told him (*Tom*) to throw fire upon the offdacyke or shed early on the Monday morning come week; and that he rose very early, about five o'clock, lit a candle, made a fire in the bake-house, heated water to melt the sugar, and then took a lighted coal of fire, and threw it upon the roof of the shed.

5. 'That immediately after his throwing the coal of fire upon the roof, the coal in falling broke into several smaller coals; that the wind blew the sparks into the little street.

6. 'That soon after he heard a knocking at *Walter Hyer*'s door; that he was then still in his mistress's yard, and hearing the knocking, he was afraid to be discovered, and run into his mistress's bake-house, and sat himself down at the fire-side; that being afraid he might be followed, he bolted the side-door which leads into the yard.'

*Taken before*

The MAYOR, RECORDER, and several ALDERMEN.

* Dutch for a shed, † Negro Language, signifies white people.

TUES-

TUESDAY, 16th FEBRUARY.

At a further meeting of the juſtices in the afternoon, the negro *Tom* (Mrs. *Bradt*'s) further confeſſed and ſaid,

NUMB. II.

1. 'THAT being at Capt. *Farmar*'s houſe, on ſunday afternoon laſt, with his negro *Jack*, and going away, *Jack* followed him to the gate, and then told this *Tom*, that he ſhould not forget to-morrow morning (meaning to fire the offdackye or ſhed;) ſays *Jack*, the winds blow hard now, and if it does ſo to-morrow morning, then you muſt fire the ſhed; but if the wind does not blow hard, then he (*Tom*) ſhould not do it.'

2. 'That on monday morning laſt, about five of the clock, *Tom* being up, he heard a knocking at his miſtreſs's gate, went and opened it, and found a negro man there, whoſe name he does not well know, unleſs it be *Jack*, who told him, that Farmar's *Jack* had ſent him to tell him (*Tom*) to fire the offdackye immediately. That this negro brought with him a piece of walnut-wood bark, which was on fire at one end and not on the other; and that this negro put that fire between the houſe of Capt. *Ratſey* and *Wolter Hyer*'s houſe; and that this negro ran away when the knocking was at *Hyer*'s houſe, over the church yard fence.

*Taken before*

The MAYOR, RECORDER, *and ſeveral* ALDERMEN.

THURSDAY, 18th FEBRUARY.

*Further Examination of* Tom, (BRADT's)

*Before the Juſtices.*

NUMB. III.

TOM being confronted with *Jack* (Farmar's) charged him with what he had ſaid againſt him in the two former confeſſions, and ſays,

1. 'That *Michael*, * (Dunſcombe's negro) was at *Farmar*'s gate laſt ſunday, and heard *Jack* (Farmar's) tell him, *Tom*, to remember what he had told him the ſunday before, that is to ſay, to put fire to the offdackye, &c. and that *Dunſcombe*'s negro ſaid thereupon, Oh! he,

* Dunſcombe's negro was afterwards proved to have been nine miles out of town, from ſaturday 'till monday afternoon; ſo that Tom was at leaſt miſtaken as to the ſunday, which is no uncommon thing with negroes to miſtake in point of time.

'why

'why do you put ſuch a little boy upon putting fire? Oh! ſays *Jack*, he is big enough.

2. 'That his miſtreſs called him up laſt monday morning early, about five of the clock, to make fire, and melt ſugar, to make cookyes; and that he put fire to the oven cackye next the church-yard firſt; that he had fire in the tongs in one hand, and bark of nut wood on fire in the other, and the fire in the tongs he threw in the oven next the church-yard, and threw the lighted bark after it on the ſide of *Fryer*'s houſe next *Ratſey*'s; and this fire was between five and ſix o'clock in the morning: The coal he had in the tongs he got out of the bake-houſe, the nut wood bark he had out of the parlour.'

3. 'That he put this fire all alone, and no body was with him or helped him.

4. 'That there was a negro came for fire that morning, and took it, having knocked at the gate for that purpoſe, and then went out at the gate again, and does not know who he was.'

*Taken as the former.*

## THURSDAY, 25th FEBRUARY.

THE juſtices being met a fourth time, in order to endeavour to pry further into this myſtery of iniquity, by examining *Tom* once more; for as to what had been drawn from him hitherto one could not give entire credit, as the reader may conclude, excepting as to his being the inſtrument of putting the fire; and it being intimated by one of the magiſtrates, that *Tom*'s miſtreſs had a ſtrong imagination (one might venture to ſay a ſtrange one) that ſhe and her ſon, if the magiſtrates would permit their attendance, could prevail upon their negro to ſpeak the whole truth. As there were many of us, there was difference in opinions upon this matter. However, at length it was ruled, that they ſhould be admitted, and were ſent for accordingly. Upon their appearance, *Tom* was admoniſhed to tell the whole truth, how it was concerning this matter; and he declared himſelf at firſt to the ſame purpoſe as to the negroes he before accuſed, and as to the ſame matter and ſubſtance with his examinations before ſet forth; but in the cloſe, as there was great doubt made of his veracity, being ſtrenuouſly urged by ſome of the magiſtrates, and his maſter and miſtreſs, 'to be ſure 'that he ſpoke nothing but the truth;' and being aſked, whether he was ſure that what he had ſaid as to theſe negroes

was the truth? He thereupon returned, and declared what he had before related concerning the negroes he had accused, were all lies; and took the whole upon himself. And being asked, why he did it, and how he came to do so? he answered, he could not help doing it.

This fellow having thus prevaricated, no use could be proposed to be made of him as an evidence to convict others, however he might have chanced to change his mind afterwards; and 'twas therefore determined to bring him upon his trial. But it may be proper to observe, that in the interval between *Tom*'s first and last examination, the negroes accused by him, were several times closely examined, both separately and face to face; but they all along positively denied every thing alledged against them by *Tom* concerning the setting fire, *&c.* but owned their being together at *Farmar*'s playing at pennies; though it could scarce be imagined, that *Tom* (who was really no fool, nor any of the wisest) had framed this scheme, and made this attempt merely on his own bottom, which should so correspond with the villainous confederacy of the last year. His recantation was not taken down in writing, but what is above set forth, contains the substance of it.

*SATURDAY*, 28th FEBRUARY.

The justices pursuant to the directions of an act of general assembly, issued their summons to *James Alexander*, Esq; Mr. *David Clarkson*, Mr. *Robert Livingston*, jun. Merchants, *Paul Richard*, Esq; and *Peter Van Brugh Livingston*, merchant, as some of the principal freeholders within this city, thereby 'summoning and requiring them to appear at the 'city-hall on tuesday the second day of *March* next ensuing, at three of the clock in the afternoon of the same 'day, to hear and determine, in conjunction with the 'justices, whether *Tom*, a negro man slave, be guilty of 'conspiring or attempting to kill his Majesty's liege people, 'or of burning the houses of *Baltus Vandewater*, or of *Andrew Bradford* and *Cornelia* his wife, within this city, 'whereof he stood accused.'

*TRIAL of* Tom, BRADT's *negro.*

*TUESDAY*, 2d MARCH.

*City of New-York*, ss. AT a meeting this day of the justices and five principal freeholders of this City, pursuant to the summons and directions of an act of general assembly of this colony, made in the fourth year of his present Majesty's reign, entitled,

*An*

*the act for the more effectual preventing and punishing the conspiracy and insurrection of negro and other slaves; for the better regulating them, and for repealing the acts therein mentioned relating thereto.*

PRESENT,

JOHN GRUGER, Esq; Mayor, } *Justices of the Quorum.*
The Recorder,
*William Romme,*
*Simon Johnson,*
*John Moore,* } *Esquires, Aldermen, and Justices of the Peace.*
*Christopher Banker,*
*John Pintard,*
*John Marshall,*

Mr. *Peter Van Brugh Livingston* having been summoned upon this occasion, appeared, and excused himself from serving, as not being a freeholder, and Mr. *James Searle* was summoned in his room, and appeared.

*James Alexander*, Esq;
Mr. *David Clarkson*,
Mr. *Robert Livingston*, sen. } Merchants, principal Freeholders of this City.
*Paul Richard*, Esq;
Mr. *James Searle*,

*TOM* * a negro man slave brought to the bar. And WILLIAM SMITH, Esq; having been appointed by the justices, counsel and prosecutor for the King, he delivered into court articles of accusation against the prisoner.

Before the articles were read, the freeholders were sworn, well and truly to try and judge as directed by the act of assembly; and the recorder warned the prisoner in favour of life, that he need not plead *guilty* to any of the articles, but nevertheless, that his several confessions being read to the court, would amount to full proof, so far as they affected himself.

Then the articles were read, and were as followeth,

'*Tom*, a negro man slave belonging to *Divertie Bradt* of 'the said city, widow, stands charged and accused,

'First, for that he the said *Tom*, on sunday the seventh 'day of *February* last past, at the dock ward of this city, did 'conspire with *Jack*, a negro man slave belonging to *Jasper* '*Farmar*, *Michael*, a negro man slave belonging to *Samuel* '*Dunscombe*, *Peter*, a negro man slave belonging to *John* '*Tudor*, and *Rob*, a negro man slave belonging to *Charles*

* By this act the owners of slaves have it in their choice to try them by a jury, which is attended with some small charge; but this, upon the question proposed, Mrs. Bradt declined.

'*Crooke*,

'*Crooke*, of this city, and diverſe other negro ſlaves unknown, 'to kill and murder the ſaid *Diverſie Bradt*, *Baſſie Vande-'water*, and other his Majeſty's liege people within the city 'of *New-York*.

'Secondly, for that he the ſaid *Tom*, on monday the fif-'teenth day of *February* laſt paſt, did wilfully put fire to 'and burn the ſhed or outhouſe of *Baſſie Vandewater*, and 'the houſe of *Andrew Bradford* and *Cornelia* his wife, in 'the dock ward of the ſame city.

'Thirdly, For that he the ſaid *Tom*, did on the fifteenth 'day of *February* laſt paſt, at the city and ward aforeſaid, 'attempt to kill and murder *Diverſie Bradt* and *Baſſie Van-'dewater*, of this city, by ſetting fire to their houſes, and 'burning them in the ſame.

'Fourthly, That he the ſaid *Tom*, on the fifteenth day of '*February* laſt paſt, at the city and ward aforeſaid, did at-'tempt to burn the out-houſe of the ſaid *Diverſie Bradt* and 'the dwelling-houſes of *Baſſie Vandewater*, and *Andrew 'Bradford* and *Cornelia* his wife, ſituate in the ſame ward, 'and to burn the whole town and city of *New-York*.'

To the firſt article the priſoner pleaded, *not guilty*.

To the ſecond, *guilty*.

To the third, *not guilty*.

As the priſoner had pleaded guilty to the ſecond article, the court were of opinion to proceed to judgment upon that; but Mr. *Smith* moved, that before they proceeded, ſome witneſſes might be ſworn, and the criminal's ſeveral examinations and confeſſions taken by the juſtices, as before ſet forth, might be read for their further information concerning his guilt, and for the greater ſatisfaction of the court and audience.

And here it may not be improper to obſerve, that the priſoner diſtinguiſhed and pleaded to the three ſeveral articles directly, without heſitation; which ſeems to be a further argument that he had more ſenſe than ſome people were willing to allow him.

*Proclamations* for ſilence and witneſſes.

Witneſſes for the King ſworn,

*Hendricks* and *Hyer*.

*Hendricks* ſaid, 'he diſcovered the fire to fall out of the 'gutter as he was looking from a window into the ſtreet; 'and that thereupon he went and knocked at *Hyer's* door, 'and called him out of bed, and they ſearched and found 'coals on each ſide of the houſe; ſome in the gutter next

'the shed, towards the church-yard, and same on the
'next *Rapley*'s house.

*Hyer* said, 'that the gutter next the church-yard was
'burnt black in the spot, or part of the gutter, where he
'found the coals lying.

The criminal's confessions read as before set forth.

And the justices further informed the court, that the criminal at his last examination, though he at the beginning of it persisted in the same story as to his accusation of *Jack* (*Farmer*'s) prompting and proposing to him to put the fire, &c. and as to the other negroes present at the two meetings at *Farmer*'s house, advising and threatning him if he did not, &c. yet in the close he declared for truth, that all he had said relating to them, were lies, and that he put the fire of his own head; and being asked, why he did it, and how he came to do so? he answered, he could not help doing it. And being asked by the court, whether he did not make such confessions as had been then just read? he answered, yes. He was then bid to tell the same story over again as he had told to the justices at the three first examinations, and likewise at the first part of the fourth and last; and he repeated the same over again, as it were in the same words: And when he had done, being asked, whether what he had then said as to the other negroes was true? he answered, no, it was all lies; and took all again upon himself, and owned his recantation to be the truth.

The audience being ordered to withdraw, the prisoner taken from the bar, and the court-room cleared, the recorder advised with the justices and freeholders; and having taken their opinions, which were unanimous upon that occasion, the doors were ordered to be opened, and the prisoner brought back; and being accordingly brought back, the recorder proceeded to admonition and sentence, as followeth:

'You *Tom*, the criminal at the bar, hearken to what is
'now to be said to you.

'You stand convicted of willfully putting fire to and burning the shed or out-house of *Baffie Vandewater* * within
'this city. The evidence of your guilt has stood principally
'upon your own confession before your trial; which you
'now confirm by your plea: And indeed this is the strongest proof, the highest conviction that can be: For this single fact you deserve death: And though the court pro-

* Laid in her name in the articles of accusation, being owner of the house; Walter Hyer tenant.

'ceeds

'ceeds to give judgment against you upon this article, your
'your offence is of a complicated nature, it is compoſed of
'many wicked, all tending to one and the ſame monſtrous
'and execrable purpoſe, the murdering the inhabitants of
'this city.

'The hellish scheme you have engaged in, as you have
'confeſſed before the magiſtrates over and over again (I
'think no leſs than four ſeveral times) was to ſet *Hyer*'s
'houſe on fire, and (as you concluded and projected)
'that would conſequently ſet the next houſe (*Kelly*'s) on fire,
'and that would ſet your maſter's on fire, and burn your
'miſtreſs in it; and then that would burn the whole town:
'Then the *Long-iſland* negroes were to come over to the aſ-
'ſiſtance of the negroes here, and they, in conjunction,
'were to murder all the white people of this city. And in
'order that your malicious hellish purpoſes might effectual-
'ly take place, the fire was to be put, as it actually was,
'when the wind blew hard, that to all probability, any at-
'tempts made to extinguiſh the flames, might be in vain.

'And ſuch a truſty agent have you been in the devil's ſer-
'vice, that in proſecution of this infernal conſpiracy, you
'did actually take the firſt ſtep propoſed, in order to accom-
'pliſh this diabolical purpoſe, by putting fire to *Hyer*'s houſe,
'on both ſides of it.

'All this that I have ſaid, you have confeſſed over and
'over again; and in this we muſt take your word: It was
'a merciful act of providence that your deſigns were timely
'prevented, that you were committed upon ſuſpicion only,
'and that thereupon the truth has thus bolted out from you.

'It was rumoured without doors, that you were an half-
'witted fellow (boy I think they called you, though you
'are ſaid to be two or three and twenty years old) and in-
'deed one would think hardly any body but arrant fools, or
'mad-folks, would engage in ſuch chimerical, wicked, vil-
'lainous and dangerous projects, which muſt moſt probably
'end in the confuſion, and deſtruction, of the wretches con-
'cerned; as you found by woful experience in the many
'examples of thoſe miſerable creatures of your colour that
'expired in flames, and at the gallows, the laſt ſummer, for
'the like deteſtable offences: And yet ſo hardened and ſtu-
'pified are ye in villainy, that no examples, though ever ſo
'ſevere, no terrors of puniſhment can affright ye; but ye
'will even defy the gallows and commit your bodies to the
'flames, rather than not riſque the chance of gratifying your
'ſavage, cruel, and inſatiable thirſt for blood.

'But

'But nevertheleſs, to convince one that you are not [illegible] half-witted fellow, as ſome would repreſent you, [illegible] ed ſome cunning (as it ſhould ſeem you did) [illegible] commitment, in providing for your own [illegible] vation, by laying this ſcheme upon and [illegible] having prompted you to this miſchief, hoping [illegible] it muſt be ſuppoſed, to be admitted an [illegible] them, and ſo ſave your own life: This was a [illegible] deep for a fool, or half-witted fellow: And [illegible] my obſervation of you, during the courſe of your [illegible] examinations, I could diſcover no reaſon for an [illegible] on, that you had leſs ſenſe than thoſe of the [illegible] rank of negroes, but that your qualifications for [illegible] are inferior to none of them; that you have ſenſe [illegible] to diſtinguiſh between good and evil; that your own [illegible] ſcience could direct you what was fit and proper to be done, and what not; you yourſelf, by your own confeſſions, have given moſt convincing proofs; for when (as you all along ſaid, till the laſt time when you recanted and declared, that what you had told concerning the other negroes was all lies, I ſay, as you told the ſtory) *Yack* (*Farmar's*) in order to try whether you were fit for the undertaking, ſaid to you, *Tom*, your miſtreſs is croſs to you, you muſt ſet fire to the offdackye, then that will burn *Hyde's* houſe, that will burn *Ratſey's* houſe, then that will burn your miſtreſs's houſe, and burn your miſtreſs in it: Your anſwer to *Yack* upon this propoſal was, no, my miſtreſs no croſs to me, my miſtreſs good enough, what ſhould I ſet fire for? you may do it yourſelf; or words to that effect: That thereupon *Yack* inſiſted, that you ſhould ſet fire, and the reaſon why you at laſt agreed to do it, was becauſe, you ſaid, *Yack* threatened he would poiſon you if you did not. This is what we call natural reaſon, and ſhews ſuch a meaſure of it, or there is ſuch a chain of conſequences drawn by it, that ſuppoſing it to be your own ſcheme (as you now take all upon your ſelf) you can be no fool, or half-witted fellow; and if it was the ſcheme of others propoſed to yourſelf, your very repetition of it, your telling that ſtory as you have done ſo often over and over again, almoſt in the ſame words, ſhews that you don't want underſtanding, but that you have made a very bad uſe of it, and acted againſt that light, which God Almighty has given you to employ to better purpoſes: So that here, I ſay, in theſe inſtances of the very propoſal and anſwer, you give convinc-

ing

ing proof, that you yourselves, in that you your selves
sensible and knew, that what you were going to attempt
was wrong, unmanly, and what you ought not to do:
Whether (*Jack*) whether the person that proposed the
thing to you, will not tell, but that somebody did, and
that you did not in the agony of your own heads, be
fully persuaded. But no one but the devil and you con-
triver, his chief stratagem must be drawn from it, as is suffi-
cient to shew, that you acted against the light of your own
conscience, your own reason, by your own way of argu-
ing, and out of your own mouth you are judged. How
you came at last to withdraw your confederates against these
negroes, you for this examination running, charged with
advising you, and being concerned with you, in this villai-
nous project, I know not; nor can I account for it, without
the devil had a mind to leave you in the lurch at last.

'You negroes are treated here with great humanity and
tenderness; ye have no hard task-masters, ye are not laden
with too heavy burdens; but your work is moderate and
easy; You say, your mistress no cross to you, she very
good, she good enough; and yet with small persuasion,
you were prevailed upon to destroy her in flames! Such
wretches, detestable wretches are many, it may be said
most of your complexion, that no kindnesses can oblige
ye; there is such an untowardness, as it should seem, in
the very nature and temper of ye, that ye grow cruel by
too much indulgence! So much are ye degenerated and
debased below the dignity of human species, that even
the brute animals may upbraid ye; *for the ox knoweth
his owner, and the ass his master's crib*; even the very dogs
also will, by their actions, express their gratitude to the
hand that feeds them, their thankfulness for kindnesses;
they will fawn and fondle upon their masters; nay, if any
one should attempt to assault them, they will defend them
from injury, to the utmost of their power. Such is the
fidelity of these dumb beasts; but ye, the beasts of the
people, though ye are clothed and fed, and provided with
all necessaries of life, without care; in requital of your
benefactors, in return for blessings ye give curses, and would
scatter firebrands, death and destruction around them, de-
stroy their estates and butcher their persons. Thus mon-
strous is your ingratitude! But thanks be to Almighty God,
that through his wondrous and merciful providence, your

'hellish devices are discovered, and you are [illegible]
'the just reward of your labours.*

'And since justice has at last overtaken you, [illegible]
'compassion to your poor soul, which is in the [illegible]
'greatest danger of being for ever miserable, give you [illegible]
'of advice, in order to prevail upon you to [illegible]
'these few moments you have to remain in this [illegible]
'the best advantage; for be not deceived, there is [illegible]
'world after this, and there is a God above who has a [illegible]
'view of all your actions, and knows the very [illegible]
'your hearts, and will require at your hands, according to
'that degree of reason which he has given you: And [illegible]
'your body be consumed in the flames here on earth (a [illegible]
'nishment of short continuance) yet your soul will [illegible]
'dye; that must survive the body, either to be for ever happy,
'py, or for ever miserable, according to your actions [illegible]

'What a horrible shocking expectation must you [illegible] be
'then! You that would murder and destroy without [illegible]
'cy, nay without provocation; what reasonable hopes can
'you entertain of mercy from the hands of the God of
'justice, who will reward every man according to his works!
'They that have done good shall be for ever happy; they
'that have done evil shall be cast into a sea of fire and brim-
'stone, to be for ever tormented with the devil and his ac-
'cursed spirits, from whence there will be no returning, no
'coming out again, but there will be bitter weeping and
'wailing, and gnashing of teeth, time without end.

'Now to avoid this dreadful everlasting punishment, the
'only method for you to take, is to make the best use of the
'time allowed you between this and your execution, by
'bringing yourself to a due sense of your guilt, your heinous
'crying sins; truly to repent you of, and be heartily sorry
'for your wickedness, and earnestly to pray to God Al-
'mighty for forgiveness: And this is not all; but that your
'repentance may be sincere, you must make that little a-

* Note, As there was like to be a large audience at this trial, this [illegible] was calculated principally with a view to awaken the people to a sense of their danger with respect to the negroes, and other conspirators, and to put them upon their guard; whereas some light-headed people (and others, as it is to be feared with deeper design, in order to put a stop to further discovery) have taken no small pains to bring a discredit upon the story of the plot, though they had seen houses burnt to the ground, and others on fire about our ears, and no one could find out, if they were not done on purpose, how they came to be so. Whether this extravagant behaviour of the former were owing to an apprehension of having their own negroes brought in question, and suffering by the loss of them, it might seem hard to say: But so excessive was the folly and wantonness of some, and the execrable malice and villainy of others!

'mends,

'hope or expectation of the salvation of your soul, and of
'avoiding the dreadful eternal punishments against which
'I have forewarned you.

'And now it were but just, that the same mischief which
'you intended for others should fall upon your own pate;
'but the course this land holds against self-murderers, as
'you acknowledged yourself upon your last examination,
'they have allowed you to be hanged, otherwise you would
'have been burnt.

'And therefore the sentence which I am to pronounce
'against you is, That, &c.

The court then ordered the execution to be on friday next between the hours of ten and one.

But his honour the lieutenant governor, by advice of his Majesty's council, thought proper to reprieve him to the first day of march.

Tom after his condemnation returned to his old story as to *Jack* (*Farmar's*) advising him to set fire, &c. and brought in *Philip* (*Duychink's*) as joining with *Jack* therein, and in the threatnings to poison of all sorts, if he did not; but *Jack* and *Philip* were several times examined after *Tom's* condemnation, and confronted with him, and he charged them to their faces, but they could not be brought to a confession. Their examinations follow.

*WEDNESDAY*, 4th MARCH.

*PHILIP* (*Duychink's* negro) being examined, says,

1. 'That he was at *Jack* (*Farmar's*) on sunday about a
'month ago; in the afternoon, in church time, he was go-
'ing by *Farmar's* house to church, and *Jack* called him in,
'and he found in the yard *Kingston*, *Peter* (*Tudor's*) *York*
'(*Delvyn's* in the square) *Tom* (*Brett's* negro) called
'amongst them *Monday*, to the number of six with *Jack*
'and himself. They all paid as pennies; and the examinant
'lost two pence, and then went away just before church out,
'in order to fetch his mistress's shoe from church, and left
'all the others in the yard.

2. 'That he never was at *Jack* (*Farmar's*) any other
'time, and says he did not hear any talk from any of those

negroes about setting fire to the houses, or
negroes coming over to assist the *Manhattes* negroes
ing the white people.

3. That there was looking on them the negroes
at pennies, a white boy
came into the yard, and he left him there when he
away.

4. 'The examinant at last remembers that Cromwell (the
'*Marston*'s negro) was also at *Jack* (*Farmar*'s) on the same
time.'

*Jack* (*Farmar*'s) though he denied it at first, now owns,
that *Philip* (*Duyckinck*'s) and *Cromwell* (*Marston*'s) were at
his mistress's in the yard one Sunday, but did not see them
play at pennies but each of them once on different Sundays;
and that *Oronoko* came to his house frequently on a week
day.'

Both *Philip* and *Oronoko* own, 'they were playing at
pennies at *Jack* (*Farmar*'s) on Sunday three weeks ago.'

*Tom* (*Bradt*'s) confronted with *Jack* (*Farmar*'s) and
charged him with telling him, that *Philip* said, he (*Tom*)
should put the fire: that *Philip* was by and heard *Jack* tell
him so, and said if he did not he would lick him; and *Jack*
(*Farmar*'s) said, he would poison him if he did not. *Jack* was
likewise at the same time confronted with *Philip*, and declar-
ed to the same purpose to his face.

SATURDAY, 13th MARCH.

The negro *Tom* was executed.

At the gallows he declared, 'That now he was sure he
must die, he would tell the truth, and said, that *Jack*
(*Farmar*'s) *Philip* (*Duyckinck*'s) *Cuffee* (*William Gilbert*'s)
and *Corah* (*David Van Horne*'s) were the persons that put
him upon setting the fire.'

Immediately after *Tom*'s execution, *Cuffee*, *Corah* and
*Philip*, were apprehended and strictly examined by the mayor
and recorder, but nothing could be got out of them.

MONDAY, 15th MARCH.

A tanner's barkhouse, belonging to one *Stevens* was set
on fire, in the swamp at the east end of this city, the wind
blowing exceeding hard at N. W. The alarm of fire was
between twelve and one o'clock, which put the people into
great consternation; but the engines being detached some

* Abraham. He was examined, and said the several negroes mentioned by
Tom were at Farmar's; but he heard no such talk amongst them relating
to the conspiracy.

dinner from any [illegible] house, it did no other damage than the burning a few wooden work and bark-houses belonging to the tanners there.

Upon enquiry it was found, that two of *Stevens*'s negroes, *Sam* and *Tom*, and the white servant-boy (*John*) had been at work there in the morning; and it being cold, they had made some fire under the wind near the work-house, and had inclosed the fire on both sides with the doors or boards, to prevent the easy wind from blowing the fire about.

At twelve o'clock those servants all left off work, in order to go home to dinner. Negro *Sam* sends *Tom* to fetch tea-water at a little distance from the place where they had been at work, and afterwards sends the white boy after him, and *Sam* undertakes to put out the fire and fasten the doors of the bark-house and stable; which done, and *Tom* and the white boy returned with tea-water, they all go home together to dinner, and towards one o'clock this fire was discovered.

The bark-house was a new close boarded building, adjoining to a stable and mill-house, on the side of the yard opposite to the work-house, under the side of which the fire was made by the servants in the yard; and the bark-house was at the end of those buildings first mentioned, farthest out of the course of the wind; so that it was most improbable that any coals could have been blown thither; and it seemed to be agreed on all hands, that the fire must have been put there on purpose.

*TUESDAY*, 16th MARCH.

*Examinations taken this day, and several other succeeding days, before the Mayor, Recorder and several of the Aldermen, concerning the fire at the tan-yards in the swamp.*

*Paul Romme* saith, 'That being at the tan-yards in *Beekman*'s swamp, on monday near one o'clock, he heard the 'cracking as of cedar, or boards on fire; that looking a-'round him he soon heard the cry of fire, fire, and immediately thereupon perceived a great flame and blaze break 'through the upper part of the roof of the bark-house of Mr. '*John Stevens*; that the blaze, fire and smoke spread in a 'surprising manner, and took to the stable, mill-house, &c. 'in a very short time, that when he came to the fire, he 'found there *Hendrick Vandewater*, a young man belonging to *Dobson*, &c. That he does not believe, that the 'fire, which broke out of the roof, did proceed from the 'fire that was made in the yard at the side of the work-

'houſe; believes it was ſet on fire on purpoſe, but knows
'knows by whom.'

*Hendrick Vandewater* ſaid, 'That ſtanding at his
'in-law's houſe with *Daniel Van Dorſen*, he perceived a
'ſmoke go out from one of the houſes at the
'*Beekman*'s ſwamp; upon which he deſired *Van Dorſen* to
'look at the place, and ſaid he believed it was on fire;
'continuing to look, he found the ſmoke increaſed, upon
'which he ran towards it, and *Van Dorſen* after him, and
'when he came to the bark-houſe of *John Stevens*, he ſaw a
'great blaze and fire ſtrike through the upper part of the roof;
'that this was near one o'clock yeſterday afternoon; that
'this fire could not, as he apprehends and believes, proceed
'from the fire that was in the yard at the ſide of the work-
'houſe; but believes it was ſet on fire by hand.'

*John Baſs*, *Stevens*'s white boy, ſaid, 'That *Sam* told
'him to go and help *Tom* to fill the jugg, (this *John* ſaid
this morning, and *Sam* juſt now ſays, that he and *Sam* ſhut
all the doors together) 'That when he and *Tom* did return
'with the water, they did not find *Sam* near the place
'where the fire had been, nor did they ſtand there with him;
'that he did not ſee *Sam* till he paſſed the work-houſe, and
'then *Sam* ſtood within five yards of Mr. *Bennett*'s lime-
'houſe.

*Tom* ſaid, 'When he went for tea-water, he left *Sam* and
'the white boy at the fire by the work-houſe, and that it
'was not then put out, nor did he ſee it put out; but that
'*Sam* ſaid he had put it out with water: That he did not ſee
'*Sam* ſtand at the water-hole, nor did he ſee him till he
'came to the lime-houſe of Mr. *Bennett*, when he ſaw him
'ſtand at the little gate waiting for *Tom* and the white boy;
'that the white boy came to *Tom* after he had filled his jugg
'with tea-water: That he did not ſtand at the ſide of the
'work-houſe with *Sam* and the white boy, after his return
'with the tea-water.

*William Rogers* ſaid, 'That on the fifth inſtant, being
'friday, in the afternoon about five o'clock, being at the
'tan-yards in *Beekmen*'s ſwamp, at work for Mr. *Bennett*,
'*Sam*, a negro belonging to *John Stevens*, delivered to this
'*Rogers*, a piece of gold called a double doubloon, which
'was very black, and deſired him to get it changed for him
'into other ſmaller money; that *Rogers* delivered this gold
'to Mr. *Stevens*, who took his negro up ſtairs and whipped
'him: That afterwards, being ſaturday, ſaid *Sam* came

'again to the top-mast, unless finding the said *Rogers*, [illegible] 'said, said *William*, you have occasioned my master a 'whipping of me, who said he would whip me again; 'but I will be even with you for it. That said *Rogers* after- 'wards accused his [illegible] with their threatning speech- 'es of his negro, who answered him, don't fear him, he'll 'not [illegible] you, he is an honest fellow.'

Mr. *BONNET* said, 'That Mr. *Romme* told him, 'he would or had whipp'd his negro; but understood 'that he said he was whipp'd by him; that the negro told him, 'that his master had whipp'd him: This was touching the 'doubtful[illegible] spoken of by *William Rogers*.'

*Sam* said, 'That he shut the back door; that no body 'was then with him; that he then came out at the stable 'door, and shut it, no body being then with him; that 'at these times *Tom* and the white boy were gone for sea- 'water: That when *Tom* and the white boy returned, *Sam* 'stood where the fire had been, under the side of the 'work-house; that *Tom* and the white boy came to him 'where the fire had been, and stood a little while; 'that they could see that the fire was put out; that the 'white boy then said, come, *Sam*, let us go home: That 'Tom and the white boy were gone for sea-water about ten 'minutes: That after putting out the fire he put the shovel 'into the stable; that after putting out the fire, and before 'putting the shovel into the stable, he put the shovel into 'the water of one of the sloops: That *Tom* did not ask him, 'whether he had put out the fire; nor did he tell him that he 'had, nor the white boy either.'

This fire at the Tan-Pits just brought the year round, to *St. Patrick*'s day, the evening whereof the last year (as the reader may have observed from the course of the evidence) was calculated by the conspirators for burning the fort; a place, no doubt, most likely to give them the greatest annoyance; which, though accordingly attempted, was not however effected till the next day. Why that particular time was fix'd upon, from what afterwards appeared in evidence concerning the conspiracy, was no difficult matter to conjecture; for, as that was an evening of national rejoicing, according to the custom of some, it were most likely that many would then be incapacitated for giving that assistance, which the nature of their duty might require, in time of extraordinary emergency; and therefore, it seems to have been a principal aim of the conspirators, to attempt the

deſtruction of the *Fort* at all events, and at that
time; eſpecially as ſome of the ſoldiers themſelves
proved afterwards to be of that villainous confederacy,
alſo well knew of what conſequence it might be to
diabolical ſcheme, to have that place demoliſhed;
doubt, theſe miſcreants were engaged, and accordingly
deavoured, to chear up their innocent comrades,
their wicked confederates, to ſuch a pitch, under
this national feſtival, as might render the former
the latter deſperate: For, as the ſecrets of this
confederacy were afterwards unfolded, 'tis ſcarce to be
that had the fire at the fort taken effect on *St. Patrick's*
night, there would then have been a general inſurrection
the negroes, and the whites their abettors; and much more
miſchief done, probably many perſons, nay families, butchered,
had not the providence of GOD moſt remarkably interpoſed
in our favour, by preventing the fire's taking effect that
night, as the conſpirators purpoſed it ſhould *. But the
fire breaking out there the next day about noon, the buildings
in the fort were all down to the ground long before night,
which was the moſt ſuitable ſeaſon for theſe villains to act
their intended tragedy; but, as was obſerved in the introduction
† a company of the Militia being under arms in the evening,
and continuing ſo all night, the conſpirators hearts failed them;
and thus a ſtop was happily put to their career; and their
wicked machinations afterwards, as providentially detected.
But ſoon after the examples had been made of many of the
conſpirators, by executions and tranſportations, it ſeemed as
if the people had almoſt generally compoſed themſelves into
a tranquil ſecurity; ſome by diſcrediting, others (as one would
imagine) forgetting, that there had been a real conſpiracy;
though from reiterated accounts ſtill daily arriving by maſters
of veſſels, to this time, of what the tranſported negroes had
in their paſſages declared concerning it, there ſeemed too much
reaſon to apprehend, there were yet remaining among us,
many of the aſſociates in that execrable confederacy, who
might yet be hardy enough to perſiſt in the ſame wicked purpoſes,
and make new attempts; and as an earneſt of it, two freſh
alarms we have already paſſed over; and had but the laſt taken
effect, when a ſtrong wind favoured the deſign, perhaps *St. Patrick's*
day might have been an anniverſary in our calendar, to have been

* See negro Quick's confeſſion, pag. 91. § 3. pag. 92. Mc Donald's evidence.

† page 12.

commenced by the colony with sighing, weeping and mourning.

But notwithstanding these signal providential disappointments, neither did the malice of the conspirators subside, nor their courage abate; for,

*TUESDAY*, 23*d* MARCH.

In the dusk of the evening a bundle of linen set on fire, was thrown into the gutter adjoining to *Benson*'s brew-house, at the east end of the town, and was by the wind blown out thence upon the adjoining shed; which was discovered by a neighbour accidentally coming into the yard: When it came down, as the man declared, it was like a round lighted coal, but burnt to tinder; and upon examination of it, he judged that there had been tow fixed in the middle of it.

*WEDNESDAY*, 24*th* MARCH.

The magistrates met at the city-hall, and sent for several of Mr. *Benson*'s servants, and others, and examined them; but no particular person being suspected of the fact, nothing could be made of it.

*TUESDAY*, 20*th* APRIL.

Being the first day of term, the judges of the supreme court recommended it to the grand jury to enquire concerning the fire at *Stevens*'s tan-pits; but nothing further being discovered, they did not think there was sufficient cause to present the negro slave upon the evidence before mentioned, but indicted him for a felony and robbery committed some time before, of which he was now impeached.

No discovery was made about the attempt at *Benson*'s.

But the informations of the transported negroes before hinted at, and these fresh instances of fires confirming them, seem'd at length to gain attention; and were by many thought sufficient to awaken every one from a supine security, and put them upon their guard against these latent enemies.

*TUESDAY*, 3*d* AUGUST.

The daring insolence of negroes observed by many even at this time, and the countenance and encouragement given by dram shops, was still every day complained of; and yet the difficulty was to detect them, so as to convict the aggressors: However, the magistrates thought it their duty to use all the means in their power, towards bringing them to condign punishment.——And therefore,

At

*A general quarter-ſeſſions of the peace held for the city and county of New-York, before the Recorder, Aldermen and Aſſiſtants.*

THE grand jury being ſworn, his honour the Recorder read the governor's circular letter of the 26th January [illegible] directed to the magiſtrates of the city before ſet forth * : having again read, the recorder proceeded to his charge as follows.

'*Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,*

'In order for you to purſue the good intention of his honour's letter, it is neceſſary that you make diligent enquiry into the oeconomy and behaviour of all the inferior ale-houſes and tipling-houſes within this city; and to root out all ſuch as this court, who make it a practice (and a moſt wicked and pernicious one it is) of entertaining negroes, and the ſcum and dregs of the white people in conjunction; who, to ſupport ſuch expence, are tempted and abetted to pilfer and ſteal, that they may debauch each other upon the plunder and ſpoils of their maſters and neighbours. This gives opportunities for the moſt looſe, debaſed and abandoned wretches amongſt us to cabal and confederate together, and ripen themſelves in theſe ſchools of miſchief, for the execution of the moſt daring and deteſtable enterpriſes. I fear there are not † many of theſe houſes amongſt us, and they are the bane and peſt of the city: 'Twas ſuch that gave the opportunity of brooding this moſt horrid and execrable conſpiracy; the effects of which infernal combination, his honour is thus anxious to prevent.

'And notwithſtanding the great pains and induſtry (as it ſhould ſeem) has been taken, to bring the notion of a plot into contempt, and ridicule, by ſome people among us of phlegmatick tempers, who have endeavoured to make light of it, doſed themſelves into a lethargick ſecurity, and have ſet at nought the evidence of their own ſenſes; for they have ſeen and heard, and methinks they might have felt too: Nevertheleſs, I ſhall not forbear expreſſing my fears and apprehenſions alſo, that the enemy is ſtill at work within our bowels; for ſurely it would be of little avail, if the ſame execrable and horrible ſcheme of villainy is ſtill carrying on among us, and ſhould at length break out again in flames about our ears, and proceed to the murdering

* Pag. 357.

† Nine perſons were indicted and fined for keeping ſuch diſorderly houſes. See pag. 301, 302.

'and

'and butchering our families; I fay, 'twill be of no avail, 'for fuch fcenes fhocking to human nature will be thefe, 'to ftand againſt, in their dreadful conviction, and cry out, 'Lord! who would have thought it? 'Twill be too late 'then to call upon God, when the obſtinate contumacious 'behaviour of thoſe among us, who have at the mercy of 'providence, our great and kind Governours out of the 'jaws of our enemies, when our own treacherous, barbarous demeanour may have filled up the meaſure of our iniquities, 'fitted us for divine vengeance, and drawn down fuch a 'heavy and fore judgment upon us, as delivers us over for 'a prey unto their cruelty.

'Let us therefore, gentlemen, think ſeriouſly, and take better heed to thoſe things, which may procure the divine goodneſs in our deliverance and preſervation hitherto, by a ſuitable improvement, and make a proper uſe of the warning that has been given us, by providing for our own ſafety and ſecurity.

'And beſides what I have already pointed out for your conſideration, it will be neceſſary for you alſo, and highly becoming in you, to enquire concerning all ſtrangers that are ſtrangers within this city; obſcure people that have no viſible way of ſubſiſtence: for that popiſh emiſſaries have been diſpatched from abroad to ſteal in among us, under ſeveral diſguiſes, ſuch as dancing-maſters, ſchool-maſters, phyſicians, and ſuch like; whereby, as it is calculated, they may eaſily gain admittance into families, work under ground like moles in the dark, and accompliſh the works of the devil, and other our declared enemies; if any ſuch obſcure perſons as I have hinted at, you can diſcover in the courſe of your enquiries (and that there have been ſuch, we have had very credible informations) it is your duty to preſent them to the court, that they may be apprehended, and examined by the magiſtracy, and dealt with according to law.

'*Gentlemen*, I doubt not but you will remember, that you are ſworn, diligently to enquire, and true preſentment make of all ſuch matters and things as ſhall be given you in charge.

'I give his honour's letter to you in charge; and theſe things I have before mentioned, I give you expreſly, and particularly, in charge alſo; and perſuade my ſelf of your conſcientious diſcharge of your duty.

'In general, you are charged to preſent all crimes and offences which ſhall come to your knowledge, from treaſons down to treſpaſſes.

THURS-

City of *New-York*, ſs.

*MARY BURTON*, the widow [illegible] conſpirator, having applied to the board for the [illegible] offered by the proclamation * iſſued purſuant to [illegible] of the common-council of the 11th of *April*, 1741, [illegible] ſum of one hundred pounds to any [illegible] that ſhould diſcover any perſon or perſons concerned [illegible] ting fire to any dwelling houſes, [illegible]-houſes, or [illegible] buildings within this city: it was ordered, "That the [illegible] or ſhould iſſue his warrant to the treaſurer to pay [illegible] *Myers*, for *Mary Burton*'s uſe and benefit, the [illegible] eighty one pounds, which with the ſum of nineteen [illegible] before paid by the corporation for the freedom and other [illegible] neceſſaries to and for the uſe of the ſaid *Mary*, make in the whole the ſum of one hundred pounds, in full of the reward offered."

The Mayor accordingly iſſued his warrant, and the money was paid to *Mary Burton*.

## THE CONCLUSION.

BY the courſe of the evidence, it appears, That a deſign was conceived to deſtroy this city by fire, and maſſacre the inhabitants: that fire was to be put to ſeveral quarters of the town, at one and the ſame time: that the *Engliſh* church was to be ſet on fire, at a time when it was moſt likely there would be the fulleſt congregation, and the avenues from the church were to be guarded by theſe ruffians, in order to butcher thoſe that ſhould attempt to eſcape the flames: this part of the ſcheme, it ſeems, *Ury* the prieſt had particularly at heart.—The winds were conſulted which would be moſt proper to attempt the fires with: they were to begin at the eaſt end of the town with a ſtrong eaſterly wind, which (as it was projected) according to the courſe of its ſituation, would probably deſtroy the whole

* See Introduction, pag. 20. † Ibidem, p. 28.

town;

town; but the [illegible] fort was first to be burnt, because most likely to [illegible] ces were [illegible] each of them to [illegible] to the [illegible] there were [illegible] was the same [illegible] that they were [illegible] made on the [illegible] of God, the fire [illegible] noon, when the [illegible] effect, by blowing [illegible] the purpose [illegible]

If it be conceived, that many of the [illegible] unknown to the [illegible] over, had been [illegible] panies posted [illegible] confederated with the conspirators, they could not have pitched upon a fitter reason for perpetrating their bloody purposes, for on this night, according to custom, their commemoration of their saint, might be more likely to excite in those of the infernal league, boldness and resolution, for the execution of this horrible enterprize, and other innocently partaking of their jollity, might in such an event, be thereby incapacitated for service; so that according to this device, all (it might seem probable to them) would lye at their mercy. But the fire at the fort happening in the day, contrary to the purpose of the conspirators, and the town having been much alarmed at the misfortune, though not apprehending the treachery; yet a military watch being kept all the night following, the villains were thereat somewhat intimidated, and stopt their progress for a while. Nevertheless, from the mighty cabals of the conspirators at *Hughson*'s, and the encouragement given by *Ury* the priest, the night after the fort burnt, who told them, Now God had prospered them in the beginning, in burning the fort, they need not fear; we must be resolute and proceed in the work, and no doubt God will prosper us in all. Execrable wretch! From hence they took courage again, and it was resolved amongst them, that they should proceed. Accordingly after one week had passed, they did, we see, set fire to several houses within the compass of a fortnight, sometimes many in a day undiscovered; and made several

† See the note † upon Quack's confession at the stake, page 9.

other

other attempts [illegible] were [illegible]
[illegible] Negroe, [illegible]
mitted upon [illegible]
more than a fortnight [illegible]
fore the laſt inſurrection [illegible]
them, that they were [illegible]
till *Mary Burton*, ſervant to *John Hughſon*
the Grand Jury, as a witneſs to
cerning which ſhe had [illegible]
at firſt refuſing to be ſworn to give her evidence
caſe to the Grand Jury, at length
ſubmitted, but withal bolted out
vidence concerning the fires
handle to the gentlemen of the Grand Jury, to
diligence in ſifting out her meaning, and to prevail
to diſcloſe the ſecret; which, after much entreaty
ſuaſion, they effected, though at the ſame time ſhe
burthened herſelf with apparent dread and great
neſs, from the apprehenſion of the danger ſhe ſhould be in
of being murdered by the conſpirators for the diſcovery
ſhe afterwards declared.

By the evidence of this girl, it appears, that her maſter *Hughſon* was a principal engine, agent and inſtigator of theſe deeds of darkneſs amongſt the ſlaves here, ever ſince ſhe came into his ſervice; and by the evidence of others, whites and blacks, it alſo appears, that he having kept a publick houſe for ſome years, had long ſince made it a practice to entertain numbers of negroes, often 20, 30, 40 or 50 at a time, and by degrees deluded them to engage in the conſpiracy, upon his promiſes that they ſhould all be freemen, and that other fine things ſhould be done for them; that upon their conſenting, *Hughſon* always bound them to their engagements by horrible oaths, not only to perform what they undertook to do, viz. to burn and maſſacre, but alſo to keep all ſecret, though they were to die for it; that theſe oaths were reiterated at all future meetings in order to confirm them; and for their encouragement, *Hughſon* often ſwore himſelf over again, and had ſworn his wife and daughter into the confederacy alſo. That *Hughſon* provided arms and gunpowder, further to convince theſe deluded wretches, how much he was in earneſt; but the butchery to be executed by the negroes after they had ſet fire to their maſters houſes, was calculated to be done with knives, for thoſe weapons, it ſeems they judged, would make no noiſe:

this

Hughson's ... commissioned to seduce others ... any thing of the secret, were invited to Hughson's by himself or others: for, by way of introduction as well as confirmation, Hughson, it seems, kept open house for the negroes, and entertained them at all times; those also who had no money as free cash, he assured them, they should be always welcome to him: these compliments he carefully practiced as he judged most proper for; as to such as were his special agents and dexterous fellows, they were to get in money if they had it, or money's worth by pilfering and stealing as they could, to raise supplies for carrying on the common cause, and they were to bring all to him, more especially upon the grand conflagration, when the town should be all in flames, and the negroes had butchered their respective families, the most valuable things usefull to be removed (particularly plate) were to be brought to Hughson's, and it seems they had already carried on so successful a trade, and Hughson's house was become a mart of so great note amongst the negroes, that with them it had obtained the name of Ostwego, after the province trading-house. They were likewise enjoined to steal their masters arms, powder, &c. and lodge all in Hughson's custody: he had many barrels of gunpowder at a time. It appears, that this hellish project was set on foot here, by agent Hughson, four or five years before it was ripened for execution; and it must needs have been a work of time to seduce so many slaves as have been detected.

The

The white confederates were [illegible]
chief; and the negroes themselves [illegible]
times by *Ury* in a ring [illegible]
the oath administering, [illegible]
They were perfuaded that the [illegible]
soon to come and join them, [illegible]
set time, they were to begin [illegible]
their encouragement the [illegible]
confederates had many whites and blacks in [illegible]
the country to their assistance; particularly [illegible]
*Hunt*, and *Higgins* was to give the word [illegible]
to begin. The negroes were [illegible]
formed into companies, several officers [illegible]
ed for the purpose, captains, &c. and the [illegible]
ed into districts. Thus all was to be their own [illegible]
any of them were squeamish, *Ury* the priest [illegible]
first, and did forgive them all they had committed, [illegible]
commit, provided they performed what they had engaged [illegible]
in, and kept all secret to their last breath [illegible]

But however true these matters have been found to be, so chimerical, wicked, abominable and inhuman was the device, that those at a distance might have been apt to think all a dream, or a fiction, were it not for the last proof of reality, which cannot be withstood, the several fires which did happen in the manner we saw; which consideration was a great motive to this publication. The witnesses, whites and blacks, that gave any evidence, or made any confession at all, agree in the most considerable articles concerning the design of burning the town, and murdering the inhabitants; and that the popish priests were concerned in it; which verifies, what is sarcastically cited in *Ury*'s defence as proverbial, That there can be no mischief in a country, but a *Roman* priest (if there) must be in it; but we may venture to go one step further, and say, if such priests had not been here (and some of capacities much superior to *Ury*'s) there would have been no such plot; for upon this and no other footing can it be accounted for. Let us suppose then (and we shall find just grounds for the supposal) that such priests, or monks, &c. call them what you please, had conceived a design for such a horrible, detestable purpose, as the devastation of this city, and the massacre of it's inhabitants, to be perpetrated by the hands of our own slaves, in conjunction with the most abandoned whites, the dregs and disgrace of their complexion; and that at a critical

time

times, when their successful wickedness would have frustrated their designs of providing assistance to his Majesty's fleet, then upon an expedition against his enemies in the *West Indies*, upon which perhaps their subsistence would some measure to rely; and thus for the purpose aforesaid of these kind of gentry were dispersed throughout Majesty's colonies in several different disguises, as cloaks of dancing-masters, fiddlers, fencing, playhouses, &c. whose under these colourable appearances, might be much likely to gain admittances and confidence in private families, and thereby have opportunities of debauching their slaves, and ascertaining themselves of such white people as might be most likely to be seduced to their detestable purposes: who then so seemingly proper instruments to be pitched upon amongst us, by such infernal agents, as *Jesuits Hughes*, and such like! For as the way to hell must be trod by gradual steps, and no one continues consummate villain in an instant; so *Hughson* had already taken some hopeful degrees in the school of wickedness; he had for many years entertained a negroe at his house in all hours of darkness; and to support that expence, and promote his own lucre, encouraged them to pilfer and steal what they could from their masters, and he readily received their goods: this might be thought a promising earnest of his qualifications; sure such a one must be judged, by these craftsmen, a hopeful tool to make experiments upon; for he that could consort with slaves in one kind of villainy, would probably make the less difficulty of going some steps further. But then his religion! Why truly, from what has been already observed, it might be thought to little purpose to talk about that: but his wife (good woman!) was already a profest papist, as common fame has it; so the business might be near half done, for her persuasion joined to a *Roman* priest's assistance, artifice and dainty fine promises, free and full remission, pardons, indulgencies, and absolution for sins past, present, and to come, and a passport for heaven on condition of performing engagements (to do the devil's business) bound with the sanction of reiterated oaths, to keep all secret to the last breath; he might perhaps (as others before him have been) be buoy'd up in full expectation of becoming rich and great here, and of a fool's paradise hereafter, and thus be seduced to enter into their abominable measures.

There are some passages of history in a *French* author or two, which may serve to add light to our own case, and are therefore thought proper to insert here.

Mr. *Jurieu*, in the VI. chap. of his history of popery, treating of the intrigues of the popes and papists against *Elizabeth*, Queen of *England*, and *William* and *Mary* of *Nassau*, princes of *Orange*, and the league in *France*, the product of popery; have the following remarkable passage, translated from the *French* thus,

'Pope *Gregory* the XIII. who succeeded *Pius* the V. entered also into all the schemes and designs of his predecessor; which were to oppose the Queen of *England*, by causing her subjects to revolt; and he had pitched upon one *Stukeley*, an *English* rebel and fugitive, whom he had created a Count and a Marquis, and he was to go to *Ireland*, and cause all the people of that island to revolt. But this *Stukeley* perished in *Africa*, in that battle against the *Moors* ‡ (where died also *Sebastian* King of *Portugal*.) His death only put the design in suspense a little: soon after the Pope sent to *Ireland*, one *James Fitz Maurice*, with *Saunders*, an *Irish* priest, (author of the history of schism) in the quality of legate, charged with a banner consecrated by the Pope, and plenty of indulgencies, to solicit the *Irish* to revolt. Accordingly *Saunders* set on foot an army of rebels, who were dispersed at the first shock by the Queen's troops, and this legate perished miserably with hunger and misery in the woods, whither he was chased with the rest of the rebels, at the head of whom he had put himself. 'Twas about the same time, that the Pope established *English* seminaries, one at *Douay*, another at *Rheims*, a third at *Rome*, and some time after a fourth at *Valladolid* in *Spain*, for an inexhaustible store of assassins, conspirators, and traitors; for it is in these seminaries that they breed up *English* papists in these detestable maxims, that every heretical prince is not a legal sovereign, and that people ought, when occasion offers, to do their utmost endeavour for re-establishing the catholique religion, where it has been abolished, without sparing the life of any one whatsoever. 'Twas out of these seminaries that they afterwards draughted those parricides, which they scattered throughout all *England*: for instance, one *Somervil* § with *Hall* the priest, and other accomplices: this *Somervil* was found strangled in prison, which was likely to have been done by his companions, that

* Quarto edition of his works printed at Amsterdam, anno 1683. pag. 352 to 354.

† Anno 1572. ‡ Anno 1578. § Anno 1583.

'he should not discover any thing further of the conspiracy.

'Among these enterprizes against conspiracies against the life of the Queen, that which they designed to execute by *William Parry*, is remarkable; wherefore we will report it a little more at large.* We have all the pieces of his process in the first volume of the memoirs of the League †. In short, this *William Parry* being stirred forwards against (which they call in the *Roman* stile) zeal for the catholique religion, conceived a design to assassinate the Queen of *England*, and he opened the matter at *Venice* to a jesuit named *Robert Bennitto Palmio*, and to the Pope's Nuncio named *Camerino*; they both much approved of his design; and by their advice he wrote about it to the Pope. This parricide returning to *Paris*, was confirmed in his intention by *Thomas Morgan*, and many other *English* people. *Hermitel Castrel*, a jesuit, strenuously confirmed him also, confessed him, and gave him the sacrament, to fix him in this great undertaking. The Pope's Nuncio who was at *Paris*, named *Ragazzoni*, was let into the secret, and took upon him to send *William Parry*'s letter to the Pope, whereby he requested to be authorized in this action, and that full and entire remission of his sins might be granted him. The Pope answered according to his purpose, as favourably as *William Parry* could have wished.

'The *Cardinal Cæsi*, who had commission to answer him, wrote him in plain terms, that his Holiness could not but commend and approve the good resolution he had taken for the good of his service, and that of the publick; that his Holiness begged him to persevere; and to the end that he might be the better assisted by the good spirit, which had brought him to it, his Holiness granted him full indulgence and remission of all his sins; and moreover promised him great rewards.

The same author in his VIII chapter, treating of the papists conspiracies in *England*, amongst others, of those in the reigns of King *Charles* the 1st and 2d, and that in *Ireland* in the year 1642, makes general reflections upon the means made use of by the author of the apology for the catholiques, to invalidate the proofs of the truth of them, and accordingly proceeds, pag. 400.

'Neither (says he) do I find these gentlemen have said 'any thing upon the affair of *Elizabeth Orley*, *Nicholas*

* Anno 1584-5. Rapin 2. Vol. Folio, pag. 120. † In France.

« *Stubb*, and the prieſt *Maurice Gifford*; which however is « a matter of no ſmall importance. We find by the depoſi- « tion of *Oats*, that the great fire of *London* happened by a « horrible conſpiracy of the prieſts and *Engliſh* papiſts. « The depoſitions of *Bedloe* prove alſo, that in the year « 1676, when he was at *Paris*, the confederates in the « conſpiracy, amongſt others a *Benedictine*, would have en- « gaged him to ſet fire to *Weſtminſter*, *Limehouſe*, and other « places, and that father *Gifford* had joined himſelf to this « deſign; in the execution whereof they had ſecretly hired « cellars in diverſe parts of the city, which they filled with « wood, charcoal, and all other ſorts of combuſtibles. The « ſtory of *Elizabeth Oxley* ſtrongly confirms that depoſition*. « This *Elizabeth Oxley* was in ſervice at the houſe of one « Mr. *Bird*, a noted attorney in *Fetter-Lane*: this girl « having dwelt there about ſix weeks, on the 10th of April, « 1679, when all the family were aſleep, put fire in her « maſter's cabinet, where there were a great many papers; « and when ſhe thought that the fire was got beyond extin- « guiſhing, ſhe cried out fire, and waked her maſter and « miſtreſs. They happily found means to extinguiſh the « fire; when that was done, it was diſcovered that this « creature had made up a bundle of her own clothes, which « appeared to have been packed at leiſure, in very great or- « der; this, added to many other circumſtances, cauſed a « ſuſpicion, that this ſervant had put the fire on purpoſe: « ſhe was ſent to priſon, and upon examination owned all. « She ſaid that about Michaelmas in the year 1678, ſhe « became acquainted with one *Nicholas Stubb*, an *Engliſh* « papiſt, who had taken a great deal of pains to pervert « her, and make her change her religion; when he thought « he had perſuaded her, to fix her, and make her ſenſible « that ſhe had choſen the good part as well for this world « as the other, he ſeveral times ſaid to her, that ſhe would « ſee all the proteſtants in *England* deſtroyed before the « end of the month of June, the next year†; and that « all thoſe who would turn catholiques, ſhould live much « more happily than otherwiſe they could, if they remained « proteſtants; that after all, it was a meritorious action to « kill an heretick; and that all the catholiques would have « a mark upon their hats to diſtinguiſh them, to the end « they might not be maſſacred with the others. After ma-

* See Rapin, Folio Vol. 2. pag. 705.

† See pag. 204. Judy Pelham's affidavit concerning Plumſtead.

« ny

'ny such like discourse, this *Nicholas Stubb* having learnt 'that she lodged at this Attorney's house, had often advised 'her to put fire to her master's house, to burn that quarter, 'promising her for this action five pounds, that is to say, 'so many 60 livres, and gave her half a crown earnest: he 'assured her also, that they would at the same time set fire 'in several other quarters of the town. This girl being 'gained by these promises, promised herself, and did all that 'they desired.

'Upon this confession of *Elizabeth Oxley*, the justice 'caused *Nicholas Stubb* to be taken into custody; at first 'he denied all with a brazen front, but when he was con-'fronted with the girl, he could not resist the force of truth; 'he acknowledged all that *Elizabeth Oxley* had advanced 'concerning their dealings and conspiracies. He added, 'that he had done it at the persuasion of father *Gifford* his 'confessor, who assured him there was no crime in setting 'fire to the houses of heretics. He said further, that there 'were two Irishmen concerned with him, the one named '*Flower*, a barber, and the other *Roger Clayton*; that they 'all three usually met in the dusk of the evening at St. '*James's* in the fields, to consult means for putting their 'design in execution; and that father *Gifford* had promised 'to the accused one hundred pounds for this deed. Af-'terwards this *Nicholas Stubb* related a thousand extravagan-'cies wherewith *Gifford* buoy'd up their hopes, and sup-'ported the promises he made them of a sudden change in '*England*. He told them, they would levy a great army in '*England*, there were catholiques enough there for that, and 'they would draw over a succour of sixty thousand men 'from foreign countries: he added, lastly, that this priest 'made them take horrible oaths to keep the secret, and 'threatened to have them murdered, if they discovered 'what they knew.

'I own I cannot conceive what they can say to invali-'date facts so important, and so well proved: here are 'persons taken in the fact, and persons that confess, what 'would you have more? There is nothing of which the 'hardiness and impudence of these false devotees is not ca-'pable: wherefore there is no doubt but they will devise 'some new cheat, and suborn fresh witnesses to support 'some new romance about these frequent combustions. 'Tis a matter beyond example, that a town should be 'set on fire as it were every year; for since the great fire

' of *London*, scarce a year has passed but there has been
' hundred fires, of two hundred and six hundred
' One cannot be perswaded that this was natural.
' leave this story of *Elizabeth Cary* and *Murder*
' wish it may be observed, that this *Murder fresh*
' upon the fact, and committed as an accessary,
' exactly what *Bedlow* had deposed concerning
' *ford*, to wit, that it was he that was
' fires, that they had made preparation for.
' the prisoner accused, convicted, confessing;
' taken his confession from the mouth of
' probably he had never seen.

' The author of the apology for the catholiques,
' great shew of advantage, because the Lord
' *ford*, and the other conspirators who were executed,
' sisted to maintain their innocence to the last,
' there had been any conspiracy; wherefore it may be
' per to call to mind what Mr. *Dalrymple* says upon the
' powder plot in 1606. It is customary in these conspiracies
' to bind the consciences of those that know these affairs,
' with horrible oaths. You may read in [the book entitled]
' *Les derniers effort de l' innocence affligé* *, the form of an
' oath which they oblige the conspirators to take.

[The following translation from the book itself, is thus introduced by way of dialogue.]

It having been objected, as an argument of great weight, that persons executed for these popish conspiracies, persisted to maintain their innocence with their last breath; the protestant lawyer answers.

' I am surprised, Sir, that you make such a difficulty about
' this obstinate silence, we see every day, criminals who, to
' salve their honour, and to have the pleasure of saying they
' die innocent, resist the most violent tortures; and you do
' not conceive, that people who have hardened their courage
' a long while before, for an enterprize the most hazardous
' in the world, should have resolution to keep till death a se-
' cret whereon depends not only their honours, but the pre-
' servation of all the Roman catholiques in England! If they
' confess themselves guilty, they must name their accom-
' plices; and in doing so, they would destroy an infinite
' number of people, and render their religion abominable
' in the world, by shewing it is capable of inspiring such

* Printed at the Hague, anno 1682. Deuxime entretien 12mo. beginning pag. 119.

' frightful

frightful countenance, and to cauſe ſuch frantick deſigns to be hatched. Theſe conſiderations are of ſuch force, that they alone are capable of ſupporting the weakeſt of men, to prevent their revealing a ſecret of ſuch importance. When the powder-plot was diſcovered in 1605, not one of the conſpirators would confeſs; and they had known nothing from their mouths, without the induſtry of the judges, who placed *Garnet* and *Hall* in two dungeons from whence they could communicate, and in the thickneſs of the wall there was a place wherein they put two witneſſes, who could hear every thing the priſoners ſaid; by which means they were forced to own all. Laſtly, would you know the principal reaſon why theſe ſecrets are ſo well guarded? It is an horrible oath wherewith they bind all thoſe who enter into the like conſpiracies. Read *Mezeray* in the place where we have juſt left him open.

'The laſt day of *January*, eight of theſe principal conſpirators were executed at *London*, for high-treaſon. Not one of them accuſed either the prieſts or the monks; for they were engaged to ſecrecy by horrible oaths.

'To give you full ſatisfaction in this matter, I will ſhew you the form of the oath, which they adminiſtered to all thoſe who were entered into this conſpiracy.

'The oath for the conſpiracy in *England*.

'I the under-written, being in the preſence of *Almighty God*, and of the bleſſed *Virgin Mary*, of the bleſſed *Michael* the archangel, of the moſt happy St. *John* the baptiſt, of the holy Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and of all the other Saints in heaven, and of you my ſpiritual father *, declare from the bottom of my heart, that I believe the *Pope*, vicar general of *Jeſus Chriſt*, to be the only and ſole head of the church upon earth; and that by virtue of the keys, and the power given to his holineſs by our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, to bind and to looſe, he hath authority to depoſe all heretical kings and princes, to oblige them to relinquiſh their thrones, or to kill them; wherefore I will defend this doctrine with all my heart, and the rights of his holineſs againſt all ſorts of uſurpers, eſpecially againſt him that they pretend to be King of *England*; becauſe he has broken his oath made to the agents of his holineſs, in not fulfilling the promiſe made to them for eſtabliſhing in *England* the holy Roman catholick religion. I renounce and diſavow all ſort of promiſe and ſubmiſſion to

* The pious prieſt or confeſſor, adminiſtering this execrable oath.

'the said present King of *England*; and all obedience to his 'officers and inferior magistrates. And I do believe, on the 'contrary, that the protestant doctrine is heretical and damnable, and that all those who do not forsake it, are damned. I will also with all my might assist the agents of the holiness here in *England*, to extirpate and root out the said protestant doctrine, and to destroy the said pretended King of *England*, and all those his subjects which will not adhere to the holy see of *Rome*, and the religion which they there profess. Moreover I promise and declare, that I will keep secret, and will not divulge, directly nor indirectly, by word or writing, nor any other circumstance whatsoever, that which you my spiritual father, or others engaged in the advancement of this holy and pious design, will propose to me, or give me in charge; and that I will be diligent and not cease to advance it; and there shall be no hope of recompence, nor threats of punishment that shall make me discover any thing concerning it; and that if I am discovered, I will never confess one circumstance about it: I swear all these things by the holy Trinity, and by the blessed body of God, which I propose presently to receive: and I call to witness all the Angels and all the Saints in heaven, that this is my true intention. In witness whereof I do receive the holy and blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist.

The author of the history of Popery goes on *,

'*Prance* informs us in his deposition, that the priests confessed such miserable wretches often, and gave them absolution; but never gave it them till after they had made them reiterate their oaths, adding always, that there would be no mercy nor paradise for them if they ever discovered the conspiracy. Is it then any thing surprizing, that people (who on the one hand can hope nothing from their making confession, since they are condemned to death, and who fear on the other hand with the ruin of their religion their eternal damnation) have had the hardiness to suppress and deny the truth to the last moment! We find every day, that criminals who for the pleasure of saying they die innocent, deny their guilt at the gallows; and here they would give us proof from the silence and denial of these people, to which they had persuaded them, that they would be damned eternally if they let the least word escape them. All the world knows that *Garnet* and *Oldcorne*, who were convicted of the gunpowder plot in 1606. per-

* Page 402.

'sisted

'fifted in the denial of it; and if it had not been that they 'deceived them by the means above recited, that Jesuits 'would to this day have had the pleasure of proving their in-'nocence by the same arguments by which they prove that 'of the Viscount *Stafford*, and the other persons executed. 'It must be observed also, that according to the laws of 'England, they cannot put criminals to the rack; so that 'the conspirators did not suffer the least torture. It is then 'a great marvel indeed, that the Jesuits, priests, and peo-'ple who had hardened themselves in the refolution of de-'nying all, whatsoever they made them suffer, should have 'had the power to do that which they had resolved, when 'we see every day criminals condemned, and who have no 'hopes at all of life, resist the most cruel tortures, and per-'sist till death, to maintain their innocence. 'Tis the con-'science which is to criminals a torture of the greatest efficá-'cy to force them to a confession: So far from the confes-'sence bringing these English conspirators to a confession; 'on the contrary it was that that kept them from it; for 'they had been perfuaded, that they should commit an un-'pardonable crime in confessing, and that they would do a 'good deed by denying the truth to their deaths. It is ma-'terial to know upon this certain considerable facts: For 'example, that the confessors and directors of the consci-'ences of these wretched prisoners and accused, took care 'to harden them, either in person themselves or by some 'others; that they supplied with set forms of speeches and 'protestations of innocence for the gallows, those that were 'not capable of composing any for themselves. There was 'one found in the pocket of *Lawrence Hill*, who was exe-'cuted for having assassinated *Godfrey*. The executioner, af-'ter *Hill* was hanged, amongst many other papers, pulled 'out one from his pocket wherein was written the dying 'speech, whereof he had recited almost the whole substance: 'You will find it a studied piece, expressed in handsom and 'strong terms, whereof *Hill* was not at all capable; for he 'was illiterate, and besides of low genius.

'It is proper to shew it you entire, that you may judge 'whether it be the stile and sentiments of a vulgar person, 'or the studied production of a priest and a Jesuit.

'I come now to the fatal place, where I must end my 'life; and I hope I shall finish it with a courage becoming 'mine innocence. I am going presently to appear before the 'great Judge who knows all things, and judges justly of e-

'very

'everything. Helps it will be happy for me a [illegible]
'for to unfast a death. I call God, [illegible]
'death, that I am utterly ignorant of the manner, the [illegible]
'and circumstances of the murder of *Justice Godfrey*. It is [illegible]
'slander for this pretended crime, that by the malice of [illegible]
'wicked people I am brought to this unnatural death, [illegible]
'I hope will be a ready passage for me to eternal life. [illegible]
'this hope I die with joy, [illegible] of mine innocency, [illegible]
'the benefit flowing from the precious wounds of my [illegible]
'ed Saviour, by whose merits I hope to obtain salvation. I [illegible]
'die a Roman catholique, and I desire all those who are of [illegible]
'the same religion to pray to God for my soul: And I be-
'seech God, in his justice, that he will please to detect the
'authors of this horrible murder, in order that my inno-
'cence may appear; though I heartily forgive mine accusers,
'I summon them notwithstanding to appear before the great
'tribunal of divine justice, as well as those that have put
'their hands to this bloody plot, to answer for the wrong
'they have done to an innocent man: I summon particularly
'the Lord Chief Justice who presided in this judgment,
'and the brothers of *Edmondsbury Godfrey*, with the jury, the
'witnesses, and all those who have been concerned in this
'affair. O Lord, bless and preserve the King; have pity
'on this poor nation, and lay not innocent blood to their
'charge. I bid you all farewel in *Christ Jesus*, into whose
'hands I resign my spirit.

The author goes on:

'There is a great deal of art in this little speech; but I
'question, whether *Hill* was in earnest in what he professed.
'To be more certain that it was not his own performance,
'the paper was shewn to his wife, who protested it was not
'his writing; and in truth he had not the use of either pen,
'ink or paper, all the time he was in jail. So it is that these
'gentlemen harden the courage of their people, to lie with
'their last breath.'

The conformity and correspondence our own case bears to the circumstances and practices in those afore-cited, is so obvious, that it would be almost needless to remark upon them: But we have a further particular considerable; that to accommodate themselves to our circumstances, these gentry have gone yet one step further; they ransacked ancient *Rome*, *Rome* in its state of heathenism, for a fresh instance of barbarity, and have exceeded them in villainy, inasmuch

as

as the essence of the dissolute to confederate with [illegible]
slaves to their own sensuality?

But for this matter, they must have very well known, they could [illegible]
splinter amongst [illegible] ty of people [illegible] slaves [illegible] only [illegible] shall [illegible] along and [illegible] too [illegible] interest, [illegible] shame by a [illegible] have been delivered into the hands of justice, and [illegible] their wonted [illegible]

The confusion of criminals of both countries, which were very many, [illegible] ces of this conspiracy, as well as [illegible] at, the burning the town, and [illegible] as observed before: [illegible] *Romish* Priests then [illegible] General *Quintana*'s letter of intelligence from *Georgia*, [illegible] that also of the new-settlers, that there were designs brooding in Europe, 'to excite revolts and disturbances in his 'Majesty's possessions in *America* †.' from whence it may be inferred, some politicians had flattered themselves, his Majesty would have enough to do to divert his attention from other affairs of importance to his Majesty's dominions. Could these be dreams, or is it more rational to conclude, from what has happened amongst us, that they were founded on realities? What have these miscreants to say then? Why they will wipe their mouths, and have recourse to their old-trite artifice, which they have always practised on such like occasions, and clamour lustily with brazen fronts, that there was no plot at all, and the witnesses were all perjured! for that *Hughes*, his wife, *Kerry*, and *Ury* denied it, and maintained their innocence to their last breath. And so have criminals we see of their communion often done before. But the witnesses, say they, what were they? Why truly generally such as they condescend to confederate with in these deeds of darkness: For who but villains, and the most profligate, debased and abandoned of villains, devoid of all

* See Turpin's conspiracy, Universal History, p. 430.
† Page 381. ‡ Page 388.

sense

fuch of fhame, virtue and humanity, would confederate with murderers! and who fhould difcover them but their confederates!

Here were their affociates, whites and blacks, denying, extenuating their crimes; fome before convicted, fome afterwards, others in the torments of their confcience, fome of degree; fome in the anguifh and bitternefs of their fpirits, proclaiming againft that accurfed trade, which had drawn them in this deteftable confederacy, and deftined them to that mifery; and yet, as it were, maintaining their innocence to the laft, or at leaft being filent as to their guilt *, others again under actual fufferings confeffing their heinous crimes, atteſting the truth of what was evidenced againft them, and excufing others, to that time unimpeached, who likewife afterwards confirmed their teftimony by their confeffion.

Though fo egregioufly infatuated were many of thefe poor deluded wretches, that they were even perfuaded they fhould wrong their own fouls if they made difcovery †; this it feems was the opinion of whites and blacks; fo artfully and pafitfully had they been tutored! So fixed and ſteady were thefe black difciples in theſe bloody purpoſes, that one of them who was yet at large, and attending at the execution of a confederate at the ſtake, was ſo far from being diſmayed at that affrightful object, that he propoſed the preſent time to proceed to their execution, upon obſerving how many white people were preſent ‡.

But we may remember, that the principal witneſs in this ſhocking caſe, and happy inſtrument of this detection, was *Mary Burton*, *Hughſon*'s indented ſervant; who (however it was) no one ſo much as inſinuated to have been ſworn of the confederacy. As ſhe was the prime cauſe of the diſcovery, as before related, their envenomed arrows have been chiefly pointed at her; and no doubt, ſay they, ſhe muſt be the wickedeſt of mortals, to bring ſo many innocents to this ſhameful, miſerable and untimely end. And what have they to impute to her, ſufficient to invalidate her teſtimony? Why one particular, ſay they, enough to outweigh all: She depoſed in her firſt examination before the grand jury, that ſhe never ſaw any white perſon in company when they [the conſpira-

* This was credibly reported to have ſlipt from Bon (capt. Marſhall's) as he was leading to the ſtake. † See Margaret Scribler, alias Kary's voluntary confeſſion, the only one of the kind, ſent from jail, pag. 41.

‡ York (Marſhall's) negro, afterwards hung in chains by Hughſon, propoſed this at the execution of Quack and Cuffee, 30 May. See Prince's confeſſion, pag. 210. § 2.

tors]

tom] talked of burning the town * but her mother [illegible]
ſtrain[illegible] [illegible] was the day [illegible] and [illegible]
very ill [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
inveigled her [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
grave[illegible] the offence, [illegible] alſo in [illegible] of
cannot expect [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
from witneſſes [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
on. Say ſhe was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
pear that ſhe [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
ſtrange, one [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
on, of one [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
ed others, ſhould [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
confirmed her [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
flames, attending [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
name many more, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
and conſpirators, given at their [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
the utmoſt attention that can be [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
perſon as to the matter treated of. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
ſhe was engaged in the conſpiracy, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
muſt have born to her as a principal [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
viction, it might have been expected. It would naturally have
bolted out from them; nor did *Sarah Pringle* the daughter
ſo much as inſinuate it, whoſe ſpleen was very inveterate to-
wards her, as the cauſe of their detection: But perhaps *Pringle*
*ſon*'s daughter was more artfully inſtructed, for it is ſaid that
that *Barton* was ſworn in a party, that might add ſtrength
to her teſtimony, and fix the guilt more ſtrongly upon the
parties ſhe accuſed, by an implied confeſſion of the moſt ma-
terial part of her evidence; and if ſhe were not aware of
the confederacy, it might ſeem ſtrange to ſome, that the
conſpirators truſted her ſo much with their ſecrets.

There are allowances to be made, with regard to the
ſpecial circumſtances this girl was under in this caſe, and
ſome paſſions and qualities which ſeemed natural to her †.
She came over young into this country, an indented ſervant,
a year or two before: Her firſt maſter, after ſome ſervice,
aſſigned over her indenture to *John Pringle*, for the re-
mainder of her term, the midſummer before this iniquity
broke out, when ſhe was between fifteen and ſixteen years
of age: The girl thus becoming under the power of *Pringle*
*ſon*, a ſtranger in the country, and not a friend to adviſe
with, her ſituation was ſurely ſomewhat deplorable; for

* Allow the expreſſion to import the conſpiracy in general.
† Pag. 27. § 9. ‡ Quack's confeſſion at the bar, p. 93. § 8

being in the hands, and under the [illegible] of [illegible] family, and held to secrecy by [illegible] dreadful [illegible] that she was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

rather all principals, are already unanimously with their fellow, a number of [illegible] and [illegible] other should only [illegible] principal [illegible] is inconceivable [illegible]

As to such other persons as [illegible] accused, against whom [illegible] of [illegible] *Kane* and *Burton* [illegible] two former, but [illegible] by many negro witnesses [illegible] apart from each other, what was only [illegible] lars affecting them, but the [illegible] relating to the conspiracy: And though it may be objected, they were [illegible] and [illegible] been admitted to give evidence on the trial of any other person; yet surely such testimony, when confirmed [illegible] not only adds strength to that of *Burton*, but does [illegible] more to the utmost moral certainty of the truth of the facts testified of. But to put the matter beyond dispute concerning them, this *Sylvia* and *Kane* confirm their own guilt and confirmed (amongst other things) particularly what *Burton* said affecting themselves.

*Kane* himself was first impeached by a negro as well as other soldiers: * however they became so numerous as to be justified; and this was notwithstanding that for a negro, *Kane* a negro; for *Kane* confessing his guilt, made also [illegible] tionemens by further material discovery, which agreed with the rest of the evidence; and both *Sarah Kinsella* (the daughter) and *Kane* confirm *Burton*'s testimony in general, and in particular all that against *Vey* the priest, and as to *Corry* the dancing-master, that he was one of the conspirators. *Kane* [illegible] apart from *Burton*, confirmed likewise so that it may be collected the only [illegible] upon her first examination, part of that through [illegible] distraction of thought and want of proper consideration, which at the same time upon due reflection and remembrance she might have known to be the truth. Add, that there were other white persons concerned in the conspiracy, besides her master, her mistress, and *Peggy*, though perhaps they might not all at that instant have occurred to her memory; which as to *Hughes*'s daughter, *Burton* afterwards declared, she did not think of her at the time.

* Will's confession at the stake, pag. 232.

Thus

Thus far then we may venture to infer, [illegible] discovering the perfons by her impeached [illegible] manifested by circumstantial and other direct evidence, viz. &c. in conjunction with, and corroboration of, [illegible] and by their own confessions) was deserving of [illegible]

We may have observed by the course of the proceedings, how these poor negro wretches have been deluded by degrees, and tajol'd to interest themselves, and become parties in this detestable enterprise, through the artifices of agent *Hughson*, who (though himself a mean illiterate fellow) from his natural propensity, and natural acuteness, had an aptitude for mischief; which these craftsmen made improvement of, and at length rendered suitable to their abominable purposes.—Though we cannot suppose that *Hughson* really had the folly or vanity to aspire to a kingdom of the conspirators creating, yet the notion might be calculated and propagated, to captivate the negroes, (for with none but fools and negroes could it take:) And further to please them, it seems they were persuaded, there should be a motley government as well as motley subjects; for *Cæsar* (Vaarck's) was to be governor over free negroes, who were to marry the gentlewomen, and *Cæsar* had got his white governess already provided.—If these phantasms and delusions could have force sufficient to enstare these simple creatures (as we find they had) it mattered not how extravagant soever the folly of the means was which seduced them to these bloody purposes, provided they served the turn and designs of our enemies; thereby disappointed the supply of provisions to his Majesty's armament in the *West-Indies*, laid waste this city, destroyed the inhabitants, and prepared the way for an invasion of his Majesty's enemies, whether secret or declared, and their making an easy prey of the whole province; neither did it signify how illiterate *Hughson* was, he approved himself sufficiently to his masters, by his dexterous prosecution of their scheme; he did seduce the negroes in the manner we have seen; he tempted them to frequent visits at his house, by his hospitable entertainments, at such an expence as 'tis incredible he could have supported for such a series of time, as this mischief must have been brooding, merely upon the spoils of a few negroes pilferings, and without other private assistance. It must be allowed he was trusty in his agency, very industrious, and used no small craft to encompass a disciple: In the first instance, if they were not pre-engaged, by a deputy, *Hughson* attempted to make them swear, by forms of oaths accom-

confederacy of their own enthusing, by thunder and lightning, and such like terrible noises, as have been heard in the courts of the wilderness, without seeing them who were all swear to; if they scrupled swearing without further explanation concerning what; then he intimated, they were to swear to secrecy, that in regard he kept a publick house, and entertained persons contrary to law, the intent of the oath was, that they should not discover him therein: If they agreed to swear at all, 'twas easy to add, as we find he did, neither mentioning they told of what they were going forward at his house: Then when the main matter proposed, if they scrupled to engage in the conspiracy, from any qualm arising either from the unlawfulness or wickedness of the design; they were flattered they were all to be free-men, and 'twas a meritorious undertaking: If they thought it would be a sin, there was a priest that could forgive him: If all this would not do, their lives were threatned if they would not engage, or at least if they discovered any thing about it: But so apt pupils were most of them, that the bare proposal of the scheme was sufficient to engage them immediately, at all adventures.

*Hughson* artfully engaged in this infamous project, a neighbour's negro, *Jack* (Comfort's) a fellow of most remarkable craft and subtlety for one of his complexion, which qualified him afterwards for a more material witness concerning these deeds of darkness; for *Jack* had more wit than to be hanged for them. *Jack* was a dignified man amongst them, a captain of one of these bands of fools, had so well approved his parts and capacity to *Hughson* and the rest, that he had a deputation for swearing, as it should seem; for he administered oaths, to such converts as he made, either abroad or at home; and in both cases had great opportunities of caballing with negroes; for his master was frequently absent from home for several weeks together, insomuch that captain *Jack* looked upon the house as his own, and himself as his own master: To his well every morning and evening resorted negroes from all quarters of the town for tea-water; which therefore afforded him convenient seasons for gaining parties, which he made use of to the utmost; and hereat *Jack* was so dexterous, that he became the very counterpart of his master *Hughson*; for when their scheme was grown near ripe for execution, *Jack* as well as *Hughson*, had a list of these black confederates, their devotees; and about a month before the Fort was burnt, *Jack* had as large companies of negroes at

his levees, as *Hughson* usually had at his, and bore'd them up with the same hopes, that at the expiration of that time, the *French* and *Spaniards* would be here to join them, and take the place; nevertheless, if they did not come, they were to agree, and did agree amongst them, to proceed and do all themselves.

We may perceive, that what has been unfolded concerning this mystery of iniquity, came out by slow degrees; the first hint concerning the conspiracy, was given by Mrs. *Burton* to the grand jury, on her examination the 25th of *April*; and for some time after the trial of *Hughson*, &c. for aught that had appeared, he must have been deemed the projector of it; though it had been whispered that *Roman* priests had been, and that some were then, in town; no one however cared to discover them, so as they might be laid hold of, and dealt with, as a salutary law of this province directs *.

Un-

* By act of assembly, II Wm. and Mary, entitled, an Act against Jesuits and Popish priests, reciting, 'That diverse Jesuits and popish missionaries 'had (then of late) come and for some time had their residence in the remote parts of this province, and other his Majesty's adjacent colonies, 'who by their wicked and subtle insinuations, industriously laboured to debauch, seduce and withdraw the Indians from their due obedience to his most sacred Majesty, and to excite and stir them up to sedition, rebellion, 'and open hostility, against his Majesty's government: for prevention whereof, it was enacted, that all and every Jesuit and seminary, priest, missionary, or other spiritual or ecclesiastical person, made or ordained by any power, authority, or jurisdiction derived, challenged, or pretended from the Pope or see of Rome, then residing within this province, or any part thereof, should depart from, and out of the same, at or before the first day of November then next.

'And that all and every Jesuit, seminary, priest, missionary, or other spiritual or ecclesiastical person, made or ordained by any authority, power, or jurisdiction, derived, challenged or pretended, from the Pope or see of Rome, or that shall profess himself, or otherwise appear to be such, by practising or teaching of others, to say any popish prayers, by celebrating of masses, granting of absolutions, or using any other of the Romish ceremonies, or rites of worship, by what name, title or degree soever such person shall be called or known, who shall continue, abide or come into this province, or any part thereof, after the first day of November aforesaid, shall be deemed and accounted an incendiary, and disturber of the publick peace and safety, and a disturber to the true Christian religion, and shall be adjudged to suffer perpetual imprisonment. And if any person, being so sentenced and actually imprisoned, shall break prison, and make his escape, and be afterwards retaken, he shall suffer such pains of death, penalties and forfeitures, as in cases of felony.

'And further, that every person that shall wittingly and willingly receive, harbour, conceal, aid, succour, and relieve, any Jesuit, priest, missionary, or any other ecclesiastical person of the Romish clergy, knowing him to be such, and be thereof lawfully convicted before any of his Majesty's courts of record within this province (which courts are thereby impowered and authorized to hear, try, and determine the same) he shall forfeit the sum of two hundred pounds, current money of this province; one half to

'his

*Ury* the priest was looked upon with a very jealous eye, soon after this iniquity began to unfold; but no certain evidence was given concerning him, that he was such a one, and at last it was suspicion only that caused him to be taken into custody: some footsteps of others were likewise traced, but they were too artful and cunning, got out of reach, left *Ury* the dog to hold, and slipt their necks out of that collar, which was afterwards deservedly placed about his; though he pretended to maintain and protested his innocence with his last breath;—they, it seems, were not so fond of this kind of martyrdom.

*Ury* was indicted upon the evidence of *Burton* and *Kane*, who corroborated the testimony of each other, and *Sarah Hughson* the daughter's evidence establishes the credit of both, as to what they say concerning him; so that the gentlemen of the Grand Jury which found the bill against him, weighing matters candidly and ingenuously, saw sufficient cause to that time, to credit *Burton*'s testimony; and to do those gentlemen justice, it was owing in great measure to their good sense, discretion, and indefatigable labours, that this affair was brought to so happy an issue; and their painful service, during a course of about three months daily inquiry, ought to be remembred by this city, and country, with the utmost gratitude.

But it so happened, that for some time before this Grand Jury was discharged, there arose great clamour against *Mary Burton*; for so many negroes being daily taken into custody (though not solely through her evidence, but rather principally upon discovery made by the confessions of their black associates already in custody, and their testimony corroborated with hers) some people began to be afraid of losing their slaves; for, as matters were then like to

'his Majesty, for and towards the support of the government, and the other 'half to the informer, who shall sue for the same in any court of record, '&c. and such person shall be further punished, by being set in the pillory 'on three several days, and also be bound to his good behaviour, at the 'discretion of the court.

'And it is further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful to and for e-'very justice of the peace, to cause any person or persons suspected of being a 'Jesuit, seminary, priest, or of the Romish clergy, to be apprehended, and con-'vened before himself and some other of his Majesty's justices; and if such 'person do not give satisfactory account of himself, he shall be committed 'to prison, in order to a trial. Also it shall and may be lawful to and for 'any person or persons, to apprehend, without a warrant, any Jesuit, se-'minary, priest, or other of the Romish clergy, as aforesaid, and to con-'vene him before the governor or any two of the council, to be examined 'and imprisoned, in order to a trial, unless he give satisfactory account of 'himself.

turn out, there was no guessing where or when there would be an end of impeachments; every one had reason to fear their own negro would be sent for next; and indeed, all things duly considered, it was most probable, there were but few of them that were not in the secret; and the girl had declared, that there were many negroes concerned, whose persons she could or might probably remember, but many whose names she knew not; so that it should seem, at length some masters of these slaves, as well as the conspirators, endeavoured to bring the witnesses, and the notion of a plot, into discredit, if perchance it might put a stop, not only to further prosecution, but further enquiry and discovery also: and these attempts luckily for some, had such an effect, that several whites, as well as negroes, escaped justice, who, had the same evidence appeared against them a few weeks before, would scarce have been thought objects of mercy; nor, from what we may have observed, would *Mary Burton*'s evidence have stood single against them.

However, when the first Grand Jury drew near their discharge, they were importunate with *Burton*, to discover all the persons she knew to be engaged in this villainous design; for about this time she had suggested to some, that there were white people of more than ordinary rank above the vulgar, that were concerned, whom if she told of, they would not believe her: this having been intimated to the Grand Jury, they were very pressing with her to discover all she knew, whoever they were; but the girl stood mute; nor could the Grand Jury prevail with her to name any, not with threatnings of imprisonment; at length being tired with her obstinacy, they delivered her over to two of the judges, requesting them to endeavour to sift the matter out; but neither, upon trial, could the judges by any means prevail with her to be explicit to them upon the occasion; she complained (as it seems she had before done to the Grand Jury) that she had been very ill used; that not only her life had been threatened by conspirators of both complexions, if she made discovery, but she had also been frequently insulted, and abused by people of the town, for bringing their negroes in question, and that people did not believe what she said, and what signified speaking? or to this purpose she expressed herself; she intimated withal, that there were some people in ruffles (a phrase as was understood to mean persons of better fashion than ordinary) that were concerned, but seemed very unwilling to name any names; till

till for the laſt experiment, ſhe was told, ſhe muſt expect to be impriſoned in the dungeon, if ſhe continued obſtinate; ſhe then began to open, and named ſeveral perſons which ſhe ſaid ſhe had ſeen at *Hughſon's* amongſt the conſpirators, aiding of the conſpiracy, who were engaged in it; amongſt whom ſhe mentioned ſeveral of known credit, fortunes, and reputations, and of religious principles ſuperior to a ſuſpicion of being concerned in ſuch deteſtable practices; at which the judges were very much aſtoniſhed; others again were inexpreſſibly diſturbed by her, whoſe reputed religious profeſſion might ſquare with ſuch wicked deſigns, concerning whom the girl had long before given broad hints, but ſaid ſhe did not know their names, or what part of the city they lived in; but it came out at laſt, that one of them was a doctor (a profeſt papiſt, as common fame had it) whom ſhe had ſeen ſeveral times afterwards in the ſtreets, and who upon ſight of her, always turned another way, to avoid meeting her: however it was, this perſon had the diſcretion to remove himſelf out of this province ſoon after; and it is ſaid, into foreign dominions: and it were much to be wiſhed, that ſuch others, as were juſtly liable to impeachment, would act with the ſame prudence, and follow his example, for the ſake of their own ſafety, as well as the peace and ſecurity of ourſelves. But upon the whole there was reaſon to conclude, that this girl had at length been tampered withal; might it not be ſuggeſted to her, that the reward offered by proclamation for the diſcovery, ſhe was already ſure of; for ſhe was intitled to it; and might ſhe not be tempted to make further advantage of the affair? Upon this ſuppoſition, the conſpirators could not have deviſed a more effectual means (if they could but prevail with her) to put a ſtop to further enquiry, to procure the names of perſons to be called in queſtion at laſt, concerning this ſcene of villainy, whoſe fortunes and characters ſet them above ſuſpicion: they very well knew (for papiſts or prieſts, as *Ury* intimated, are 'too wiſe and too cunning') if they could but prevail in this, they would thereby not only put a ſtop to further diſcovery, but likewiſe have ſome pretence, according to their uſual cuſtom, to clamour loudly, there was no plot at all; 'twas a mere dream! And to ſerve this turn, they had luckily with them ſome owners of ſlaves, who happened to humour this artifice, though upon a different view.

'Twas fit this matter ſhould be ſtated in it's proper light; that on the one hand the evidence of this witneſs (but for

whom next under the interpoſition of divine providence, this city would in all probability have been laid waſte in aſhes, and many families maſſacred) might have it's due weight, ſo far as deſerving of credit; and on the other hand, that where ſhe may be juſtly ſuſpected to have exceeded the bounds of truth, there a ſtop may be made, to conſider and conjecture, how it might have come to paſs, that ſhe told ſome things incredible at the winding up of this affair; and weigh impartially alſo, the whole current of the other evidence, remarking how it appears to confirm and eſtabliſh her teſtimony, ſo far as it has been judged proper and fitting to publiſh it.

The other white people executed, as well as *Ury*, like true modern *Romaniſts*, pretended to maintain (and did proteſt) their innocence to their laſt breath; though *Hughſon* himſelf, ſoon after his conviction, ſeemed to betray ſtrong ſymptoms of his inclination to confeſs his guilt, and make diſcovery; but if he was in earneſt to have done ſo, in hopes of ſaving his own life, his mind was ſoon changed (as 'twas conjectured) by the perſuaſion of his wife; yet *Kerry* left ſuch proofs behind her of many of the particulars of this conſpiracy, and of her own guilt, as add great force to the aforegoing accounts of it; and her recanting afterwards, is another irrefragable inſtance, how theſe wretches do prevaricate, even in their laſt moments!

That a plot there was, and as to the parties and bloody purpoſe of it, we preſume there can ſcarce be a doubt amongſt us at this time; the ruins of his Majeſty's houſe in the fort, are the daily evidence and memento of it, ſtill before our eyes: if the other frights and terrors this city was alarmed with, to their great conſternation, are as to ſome amongſt us, ſo ſoon ſlipt into oblivion, yet ſurely others will think we ought once a year at leaſt, to pay our tribute of praiſe and thankſgiving to the Divine Being, that through his merciful providence and infinite goodneſs, cauſed this inhuman horrible enterprize to be detected, and ſo many of the wicked inſtruments of it to be brought to juſtice, whereby a check has been put to the execrable malice, and bloody purpoſes of our foreign and domeſtick enemies, though we have not been able entirely to unravel the myſtery of this iniquity; for it was a dark deſ[illegible] the veil is in ſome meaſure ſtill upon it!

# APPENDIX.

## DEPOSITION.

ANNE KANNADY, wife of *James Kannady* of the city of *New-York*, peruke-maker, being duly sworn, deposeth,

1. That on the tuesday or wednesday evening (to the best of her remembrance) after the deponent's husband *James Kannady*, and several other city officers had been several times in search at *John Hughson's*, after the goods stolen from Mr. *Hogg's* shop, *Mary Burns*, then servant to *Hughson*, came to the deponent's house to buy a pound of candles for her master; and it being a very cold evening, the deponent asked her to come in and warm herself, which she did; and thereupon the deponent took upon her to ask her several questions: First of all she asked her her own name, which she told her as above; for the deponent did not know it, tho' she had been several times at her house upon the like errands, and she knew that she lived at *Hughson's*: Then the deponent asked her, whether that was a black child or a white child which that Irish beauty had, which lodged at their house? and she made answer, that it was as white as any of her children, or any other child. The deponent then told her that she heard that there was a negro who kept company with her and was the father of that child; the said *Mary* answered, there was a negro came thither to her, but he was not the father of that child, she believed: Then the deponent took upon her to give the said *Mary* good advice; she told her, she would give her her blessing as a mother would a child, as she was a stranger in the country; the deponent advised her to have no dealings with negroes, and to have no hand in thievery, for that would be a means of bringing her to the gallows.

2. That the deponent then asked her, if she knew any thing of the thievery of *Hogg's* goods? and she several times denied that she knew any thing about the matter. The deponent then asked her, if she had a mind to be freed from *Hughson?* if she had, and would discover the goods, the deponent would free her, and she should come and live with her; then the said *Mary* answered, that her husband (meaning

ing the deponent's, who had been at *Hughſon*'s upon ſearch, as aforeſaid) was not come enough: Then the deponent bid tell me where the goods are, and I will take you away from him to night; ſhe anſwered, that ſhe would not tell her any thing to night, ſhe would tell her to-morrow; but that the deponent's huſband had trod upon them. Then the deponent let the ſaid *Mary* return home.

3. That after this converſation was over, the deponent the ſame evening went to Mr. *Mills*, the under-ſheriff, and told him what had paſſed as above; whereupon the ſaid *Mills*, Mr. *Hogg* and his wife, and ſeveral conſtables, with the deponent's huſband and herſelf, went down to *Hughſon*'s houſe; and the deponent deſired *Mills* to go into the houſe firſt, and bring *Mary Burton* out to her; but *Mills* ſtaying a long time, the deponent went into the houſe to him, and found him and his wife and *Mary Burton* in the parlour; and there ſhe denied all that ſhe had ſaid to the deponent as above. Then the deponent charged her home with it, till at laſt the ſaid *Mary* ſaid, ſhe could not tell them any thing there, ſhe was afraid of her life, that they would kill her. Whereupon they took her out of the houſe; and when they had got a little way from thence, ſhe put her hand in her pocket, and pulled out a piece of ſilver money, which ſhe ſaid was part of *Hogg*'s money which the negro had given her; whereupon they all went with her to alderman *Baxter*'s; and the deponent informing him what ſhe had promiſed the ſaid *Mary*, that is to ſay, to get her freed from her maſter; the alderman directed that ſhe ſhould that night lodge with the under-ſheriff at the city-hall for ſafety; and the deponent went with the ſaid *Mary*, and left her at Mr. *Mills*'s accordingly.

4. That ſome time after the ſaid *Mary Burton* was parted from *Hughſon* (to the beſt of deponent's remembrance it was after the houſe in the fort was burnt) ſhe came to the deponent's houſe, and the deponent was talking about the robbery at *Hogg*'s, and about butter, indigo, and bees-wax, which had been then lately ſtolen from other perſons; and *Mary* ſaid, that *Hughſon*, his wife and family had had them all, it was plain enough, and that ſhe knew enough to hang and burn them all. The deponent then adviſed her to tell all that ſhe knew, ſaying, it was pity ſuch people ſhould go on in their wickedneſs unpuniſhed.

5. That ſome time after this, the ſaid *Mary* ſaid to the deponent, that ſhe was better than ever her mother was to her, that ſhe had relieved her from the hands of her enemies,

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by being the means of aiding her away from Hogsflesh; and that if ever it was in her power, she would requite him handsomely for it.

6. That the said Mary Burton further said to this deponent, that if they had not taken her, the said Mary, from Hogsflesh's the night they did, she really believed they (meaning the Hogsflesh) would either have murdered her, or sent her away in a boat by the next morning.

29 April, 1742. Anne Kennedy.

Sworn before the Recorder. Mark

The same day and time James Kennedy and Mary Goddard (daughter of said James and Anne) wife of Christopher Goddard of New-York, mariner, having severally heard the before mentioned deposition of Anne Kennedy taken and read over in their presence, did severally make oath, that that part of the said deposition which relates to what discourse passed between the said Anne Kennedy and Mary Burton, did so pass between them when they (the deponents) were respectively present; and that what therein is deposed, is the substance and effect of what was so said between them.

Sworn before the Recorder.

## DEPOSITION.

REBECCA HOGG, wife of Robert Hogg of the city of New-York, merchant, deposeth, &c.

1. That one Wilson, a boy belonging to the Flamborough man of war, used to frequent her house, upon pretence of acquaintance with two white boys, servants to two gentlemen that lodged there.

2. That the thursday before the robbery was committed, the said Wilson came to her house with a man belonging to the aforesaid ship, in order to buy some chequed linen; and the deponent shewed them into the shop, where he (Wilson) bought something of her, and gave her a Spanish ninepenny silver piece in pay; and the deponent unadvisedly opening her desk to weigh it, she pulled out a drawer in view of the said Wilson, wherein were a considerable number of Spanish pieces of eight; whereupon she immediately recollected herself, and shut to the drawer and desk again in haste, thinking she had done imprudently in exposing her money to an idle boy who used to be so often backwards and forwards at her house, and thereupon made an excuse to send the piece of money aforesaid out of the house to be weighed. And on the saturday night following her shop was robbed. 3. That

3. That the ſunday morning after, this boy (*Wilſon*) came to the deponent's houſe, as uſual, and ſhe was telling him how that ſhe had been robbed, and that as ſhe knew he belonged to the man-of-war, ſhe thought he might be able to give her ſome intelligence of it; as there were ſeveral ſailors who frequented vile houſes that were near her; the deponent deſcribed ſome ſnuff-boxes and coined ſilver pieces, one an eight-ſquare piece; whereupon he the ſaid *Wilſon* anſwered, that he had been that morning at the houſe of one *Hughſon*, by the north river, and there he ſaw one *John Gwin* (whom the deponent underſtood to have been a ſoldier of that name, a perſon of vile character, who lived in the deponent's back ſtreet; but it turned out to be *Cæſar*, (*Vaurck*'s negro) whom he ſaw pull out of his pocket a worſted cap full of coined ſilver; and that *Cuffee* (*Philipſe*'s negro) came into *Hughſon*'s upon pretence of having his maſter's ſhoes mended, and ſeeing *John Gwin* have this money, he aſked him to give him ſome, and he counted him out half a crown in pennies, and aſked him if he would have any more, and pulled out a handful of ſilver in the preſence of the boy (*Wilſon*) amongſt which he ſaid he ſaw the eight-ſquare piece ſo deſcribed by the deponent as aforeſaid; but the deponent did not then ſuſpect *Wilſon* to have had any hand in it.

4. That upon this information the deponent told her huſband; and he and Mr. *Mills* went the ſame ſunday morning to *Hughſon*'s, to enquire for one *John Gwin*, a ſoldier; and *Hughſon* told them, that he was not there, nor did he uſe the houſe: But *Cæſar*, the negro who went by that name (as he himſelf after he was apprehended, and after his conviction, confeſſed to this deponent) was at the ſame time ſtanding in the chimney corner, in the ſame room where Mr. *Hogg* and Mr. *Mills* came: Whereupon Mr. *Hogg* returned to his houſe, and told the deponent, that there was no ſuch ſoldier as *John Gwin*, that uſed that houſe; that the boy (*Wilſon*) who was preſent, thereupon ſaid, it was not a white man, but *Cæſar*, a negro belonging to one *Vaurck*, a baker, who went by that name.

5. Upon this *Cæſar* was apprehended the ſame ſunday about three o'clock, and being brought to *Wilſon*, to know if that was the right perſon, he ſaid it was.

6. That upon her examining the ſaid negro *Cæſar*, in jail ſeveral times, as well before his trial as after his conviction of this robbery, he confeſſed to her as followeth.

7. That the boy *Wilſon* uſed to be frequently in compa-

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ny with him *(Cæsar)*, *Cuffee* (*Phillips*'s) and *Prince* (*Salter-man*'s) negroes, to Mr. *Phillips*'s house, and to *Hughson*'s; and that he *(Wilson)* came to *Hughson*'s, where were present *Hughson* and his family, *Cæsar* (himself) *Cuffee* and *Prince*, and there he told them where they might have a good booty, and described the deponent's house and shop to them, and told them what money he had seen in the drawer, as aforesaid, and said, he believed there must be more by seeing that in one drawer: That *Cæsar* and he did not know where Mr. *Hogg* lived, but he knew the house if it was where the widow *Scott* lived formerly; and that to said *Hughson*, that he did not know Mr. *Hogg*, nor where he lived: but *Cæsar* further said, that upon this information they contrived it at *Hughson*'s how to commit this robbery; and that he *(Cæsar)* going to see *Peggy Kerry*, who lodged at *Hughson*'s, on the saturday evening following, he dropped asleep there, and about ten o'clock *John Hughson* came to him, and waked him, telling him, that he had forgot what he had promised the boy *(Wilson) Cuffee* and *Prince*, to go to the house in Broad-street, to get that booty.

8. That thereupon he *(Cæsar)* went to Mr. *Phillips*'s house *(Cuffee*'s master's) and finding no body there, he sat himself down in the cellar-kitchen by the fire; and by-and-by hearing his confederates coming he feigned himself asleep, and they came in with a large bundle, and hid it in a bran-box in the stable or out-house, in the yard, as he discovered by their talk, they thinking him asleep; for they did not attempt to wake him, but went out again in search of further prey.

9. That when they were gone, he went and took the bundle they had so hid, and carried it to *John Remme*'s at the new battery, who opened the door for him himself, and let him in, and he *(Cæsar)* threw the bundle in a chair, which was tied up in a large table-cloth, which *Remme* opened, and took out a piece of cotton and linen cheque, and a pair of silver knee-buckles belonging to Mr. *Hogg*, and some other linen things which he could not particularly remember; and after this, he *(Cæsar)* carried the remainder of the bundle to *Hughson*'s, and left them in the room where *Peggy* was, and went to bed; and in the morning when he awaked, he took the snuff-boxes, a child's whistle, and ring, and a pair of ear-rings, and a locket with four diamonds, and gave them to *Peggy*, with some money; and the linen and chequed shirt he left with *Peggy*, to distribute as she

thought proper, but he bid her give an apron to the girl (meaning *Mary Burton*;) and when he (*Caesar*) went down stairs, he distributed money to *Hughson*, his wife, and their children, and likewise the servant girl.

20. That *Caesar* confessed to the deponent, that when he came to *Hughson's* with the things, the family was all a-bed, but that they had left open a window, as was usual, and he climbed upon the shed, and got into the house, and went to bed to *Peggy*, as *Hughson* and his family knew he used to do every night.

14 April, 1742. *Rebecca Hogg.*

*Sworn before the Recorder.*

13th JULY, 1742.

The recorder having been informed by *Mary Burton*, that she had several times talked to the wife of *Daniel Masters*, carman, concerning the conspiracy, and what she had heard the negroes and the *Hughsons* often talk about it, whilst she lived at *Hughson's*, and this before the fire at the fort; he spoke to *Daniel Masters*, and desired him to send his wife to him, in order, as he told him, to enquire of her about it: within three or four days afterwards *Susanna Masters* came to the recorder, (*viz.* this morning) and he examined her upon the matter, and took down what she said in the form of a deposition, consisting of twelve sections or paragraphs, which she signed and swore to, after hearing the same distinctly read over: the recorder being obliged to go out, and pressed in point of time, he did not examine her so fully as otherwise he would have done; but upon reading over the deposition in the afternoon, several other questions occurred to him, which he thought might be proper to interrogate her upon; therefore he then sent for her again, and she came very readily, and freely answered the questions proposed to her; notes were taken at large of the fresh information she gave; which she was told were to be drawn out in proper order, and added to her deposition, and the whole to be fair copied, ready to be read over to her the next morning, in order to be sworn and signed; and she promised to come the next morning for that purpose; but it may be presumed she had been otherwise advised; for tho' her husband had been several times afterwards, ordered to send her again; yet she thought fit to decline coming; the recorder did not care to be over solicitous about it, for some reasons; but has ventured to give the publick her examination at large, as it was drawn out from his notes, which

which he does ever, he thinks is faithfully done; and to do the woman justice, she seemed to behave upon that occasion with the greatest sincerity and candour. For distinction, the particular paragraphs contained in her first deposition, which were read over to her, and by her sworn to and signed, are put with inverted commas.

*Note*, Upon the fair copying, some of the paragraphs were transposed, and the words inclosed in the crotchets, thus, [ ] at the end of the 10 §. were added upon her second examination.

The deposition and examination of *Susanna Masters*, wife of *Daniel Masters*, of the city of *New-York*.

*She said*, 1. 'That *Mary Burton*, late servant to *John Hughson* (executed for the conspiracy) soon after her removal from her said master, (upon the discovery of Mr. *Hogg*'s goods the last year, which were stolen and lodged at the said *Hughson*'s house) came to live with one *Wilson*, in the same street with this deponent, with whose family this deponent was well acquainted, they used to fetch water at this deponent's house, and to dry their clothes in her yard; and after *Mary Burton* came to live with *Wilson*, she used often to come to the deponent's house upon the same errands, which gave the said *Mary* frequent opportunities of talking to this deponent; and she said she was glad she was got from *Hughson*'s, to the place where she now was; for she was afraid there would be mischief in the town; for that she knew there used to be cabals of negroes at *Hughson*'s whilst she lived there, almost every night at supper, and they used to make her wait upon them; and at such meetings *Hughson* and the negroes used to talk of killing the people and burning the town; that the governor's house should be the first, and then they would begin at the Fly, and so go through the whole city; and that *Hughson*'s wife said, that rather than it should go undone, she would lend an hand herself; and when all this was done, it was agreed among them, that *Hughson* was to be king, his wife queen, *Cæsar* (Vaarck's negro) governor, and *Peggy* his mistress governess.

2. 'That *Mary* said, that the *Hughsons* and the negroes several times threatened her, that if ever she discovered any thing out of the house, that she heard there, they would certainly make away with her.

3. 'That the said *Mary* had discoursed in this manner to the deponent three several times, before she spoke of it

to

'to her husband; but it did make the deponent very un-
'easy, though she could not know how to give credit to it.

4. 'That at the times of this discourse, *Mary Burton* 'seemed very uneasy, and used to set down and cry and be-
'moan herself, and said, she was but a young girl, a stran-
'ger in the country, and no friends, and she was in danger
'of her life; the deponent then asked her, why she did not
'go to a magistrate, and make a discovery of all this; *Mar-*
'*y* answered, that if she should tell them what she knew,
'they would not believe her, as she was a poor girl and a
'stranger.

5. That upon the girl's crying and bemoaning herself so to her, the examinant (considering the circumstances she was under from the manner of her relating her story) was very much affected, and could not but take great compassion of her, as she had no friends or relations in this country to advise with upon her case, or to protect her; and yet the examinant says, she would at some times be chearful and merry, and laughing at the folly of the conspirators, when she was telling the examinant of some particular odd passages which happened at such nightly meetings; and that she bore up against the difficulties she was under, much better than the examinant could have done in the like circumstances, and that she thought she had very good spirits.

6. 'That the said *Mary* used further to talk, that when
'*Hughson* and the negroes had any thing extraordinary to do
'at nights, the *Hughsons* would send her up to bed; and
'that the night *Hogg*'s goods came thither, they had sent her
'up to bed, and she heard when the goods came, and she got
'up and looked out of the window, and saw the goods de-
'livered in, but it being dark she could not discover who they
'were that brought them, for there were many of them, but
'she heard and knew the voices of the negroes *Cæsar* (Va-
'arck's) *Prince* (Auboyneau's) and *Cuffee* (Philipse's.)

7. 'That *Mary* told the deponent, that the night *Hogg*'s
'goods were stolen, *Cæsar* was asleep upon the table; that he
'had been drinking very hard, and *John Hughson* came to
'him about eleven o'clock and waked him, and said to him,
'you forget your promise, don't you? *Cæsar* answered, no,
'sir, I don't, and thereupon got up and went out; and
'then *Hughson* sent *Mary* to bed; and *Mary* said, that up-
'on this she suspected something extraordinary was to be
'done, she could not sleep; and she heard the noise when
'they brought the goods, which she took to be about twelve
'or one o'clock.

8. 'That

8. 'That *Mary Buttle* told her deponent, that the saw
'the goods the next morning; and that *Cuffe* offered her
'as much speckled linen before *Pigg*, as would make her
'an apron, but she said she would not have it, and threw
'it down upon the floor; and told them she did not want
'it; that want it she did, but that she would not have it in
'that manner; that she told them, she believed they did
'not come honestly by it; at which she said they were af-
'fronted; but she did not value it, she would not receive
'any thing of them, if she could but get victuals, drink and
'clothes as long as she staid with them, that was all she
'cared for: that *Cuffe* offered her a piece of silver, which
'she supposed was to engage her to look after *Pegg* in her
'lying in; but she said no, she would not take care of her
'and her black child, but perhaps she might have submit-
'ted to have looked after white people's.

9. 'That at last the deponent told her husband of
'what had passed between her and *Mary*; but at first he
'thought it was all idle talk in the girl, and could not give
'any credit to it, and rebuked the deponent for giving an
'ear to her.

10. 'That the said *Mary* further said, that there were
'many white people, and some in ruffles, that used to come
'to *Hughson*'s, and go into a private room with *Hughson*;
'and if she, when she was bid, brought any wine or any
'thing to the door of the room where they were, *Hughson* us-
'ed to stand ready at the door and receive it, and send her
'away again: that these white people in ruffles used to come
'seldom; but they used to send letters and money in them
'to *Hughson* often;' [for that she has received several let-
ters brought thither, and has felt money in them, large
round pieces, which she took to be milled Spanish pieces of
eight.

11. 'That the said *Mary* said, that *Hughson* had a large
'parcel of arms, which he hid under ground; but she did
'not know what became of them.

12. That the said *Mary* told the examinant, that *Ken-
nady* the constable's wife (at the time that he had been search-
ing at *Hughson*'s in quest of *Hogg*'s goods that had been sto-
len) upon *Mary*'s going to her shop upon an errand, advised
her, if she knew any thing of *Hogg*'s goods, to discover it,
or else, she told her, she might be brought into trouble;
and that *Mary* told her, ah! said she, the constables in this
place were not half cute enough, that they went over them

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several times, and had pulled a little ſervants (that thought
the ſaid) into a place where ſome of them were (the
examinant apprehended her, when ſhe was there) in
the chairs that were broken that they were burning up; and
*Mary* ſaid, that ſhe could dance before hanging to ſee
how dumb they were, and yet ſhe cried not all that
[Hereupon *Ann Kennedy*'s preceding depoſition being
read over to the examinant, ſhe declared,]

13. That *Mary Burton* had told her what had paſſed be-
tween the ſaid *Ann Kennedy* and her the ſaid *Mary*, which,
to the beſt of the examinant's remembrance, was much to the
ſame purpoſe as is related in the ſaid *Ann Kennedy*'s depoſi-
tion, and that ſhort after ſhe came to live with *Wilſon* at
Aſtonfield, and before the fire at the fort.

14. That all the converſation before related, paſſed be-
tween the deponent and the ſaid *Mary* concerning the con-
ſpiracy before the fire at the fort, and before the procla-
mation iſſued, promiſing a reward to ſuch as ſhould make
diſcovery of any perſon or perſons concerned in ſetting fire
to the houſes.

15. That Mrs. *Waldron* who is ſince married to —*Miller*,
coming one day to the examinant's houſe, before the fire
at the fort, *Mary Burton* being there, ſhe related before her
moſt of the particulars herein before ſet forth, much to the
ſame purpoſe as before related; and the ſaid Mrs. *Waldron*
was very much ſurprized at it.

16. That the day the fort was fired, *Mary Burton* came
to the deponent's houſe, and ſaid to her, Now you ſee this
is the beginning of it, Mrs. *Maſters*; they ſaid the gover-
nor's houſe ſhould be the firſt; you did not ſeem to take
much notice of what I ſaid to you; and *Mary* ſeemed to
be in a very great fright, and much perplexed, and ſaid, it
was a thouſand pities it ſhould not be diſcovered; but ſays
ſhe, if I was to ſpeak what I know of it, they would not
believe me, and ſhe ſaid, when ſhe looked upon the houſes,
ſhe thought what a pity it was, that they muſt all come
down.

17. That after the fire at the fort the ſaid *Mary* uſed to
come frequently to the examinant's houſe, until the time
that her maſter, *Wilſon*, removed to live in the Fly, which
was at May-day, 1741; and ſhe would often be talking a-
bout theſe matters, and of her fears and apprehenſions, that
ſhe ſhould be murdered by the negroes; and ſhe told the
examinant one day, after ſhe had been firſt examined by

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the Grand Jury concerning Mugg's goods, that she met one of Peaver's negroes * who was one of the conspirators (whose master lived near the examinant) and he asked her whether she had discovered any thing about the fires? and *Mary* said she answered him, no; and the negro replied, we shall soon take care that you shall not tell any more; or words to those such purport; and *Mary* said, she came immediately into the examinant's house, before she went to her master's; and she seemed to be frightned almost out of her wits, when she told the examinant this story, and said, she looked behind her all the way, expecting she should be followed and knocked on the head.

18. That after *Wilson* was removed into the Fly, the said *Mary* told the examinant, that one sunday morning her master and mistress being gone to church, a negro who she believed did belong to old *Hughson* (father of *John Hughson* executed) came into her master *Wilson*'s cellar-kitchen, and asked if there was a barber there? that *Mary* answered him no; that the said negro made a pretence that he wanted to send the boy out (the only person in the house besides herself) in order to fetch him a barber to shave him; but *Mary* said she was afraid he had some ill design, and would not let the boy go; and at last, when church was near out, the negro went away, and people beginning to come into the streets, the negro took to his heels and run away; and she said she thought to have got somebody to have laid hold of him, but he made too much haste out of reach: That afterwards she told her fears and apprehensions to a magistrate, and care was taken to remove her from her master *Wilson*'s; and she was then lodged again at the under-sheriff's at the city-hall, where she was to remain, and the corporation purchased her indentures of *Wilson* for that purpose.

19. That this examinant was out upon the common at the execution of *Quack* and *Cuffee*, where she met the said *Mary Burton*, and the examinant said to her, she wondered how she had courage enough to be there; she answered, that she knew they had deserved it, and that if half the negroes in town were executed, she believed they had deserved it; that she knew a great many of them by sight, but did not know their names, nor who they belonged to.

20. That when the governor had ordered a military nightly watch to be kept in the city, that evening that *Philipse*'s store-house was burnt, *Mary* (having been talking to the

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examinant about the conſpiracy, and the ſeveral fires which had happened that day) ſaid, that was right, and the only way to prevent further miſchief.

21. That when ſeveral fires had thus happened, the examinant was then convinced of the truth of what the ſaid *Mary* had often before related to her; and the examinant's huſband reſolved to inform, and did inform a magiſtrate of what *Mary* had told the examinant, or of the ſubſtance of it, as the examinant's huſband informed her.

22. And laſtly, the examinant ſaith, that from the beginning of theſe converſations with the ſaid *Mary Burton*, about theſe plottings and caballings between the *Hughſons* and the negroes, the examinant had heard the ſaid *Mary* mention the names of ſeveral white perſons of condition beyond the vulgar, who ſhe ſaid reſorted ſometimes to *Hughſon*'s, and uſed to go into a room with him in private, whom ſhe ſuſpected; and others who uſed to be with the negroes and the *Hughſons* in publick, whom ſhe ſaid ſhe knew, from what ſhe had ſeen and heard at ſuch meetings, were concerned in the conſpiracy [whoſe names the examinant did not care to mention, without a promiſe not to inſert them in her examination] but among ſeveral others ſhe had heard her name *Corry*, the dancing-maſter, as one particularly, who uſed to be with the *Hughſons* and the negroes, when they were talking about burning the town and killing the people.

*The following letter and dialogue were ſent from* Mr. Faviers, *of the City of* New-York, *Merchant, directed to the Recorder.*

*SIR*,

Having been often interrogated concerning ſome diſcourſe I had with the negro *Baſtian*, concerning the conſpiracy; you were pleaſed to propoſe to me, that I ſhould recollect myſelf as well as I could, and ſet down the ſubſtance of it, by way of dialogue; which I have done, according to the beſt of my remembrance, as followeth.

Being at *New-London* with my ſloop the beginning of laſt *September*, *Elias Rice*, commander, having ſixteen negro men and one negro woman on board, who were tranſported for having a hand in the late plot, and have ſince been delivered at *Hiſpaniola*; I about that time received a letter from my wife at *New-York*, dated the 31ſt day of *Auguſt*, 1741. in which letter ſhe informed me, that one *John Ury* had been executed the ſaturday before, as one concerned in the

conspiracy; and that it was the opinion of many people, that he was innocent of what had been alledged against him at court. This piece of news astonished me to go on board, to try what I could learn from the negroes; and I was relating this account of *Ury* to captain *Rice*, in *French*, and *Bastian*, one of the transported negroes, who attended on captain *Rice*, being near the door of the cabin within hearing; at my saying, a great many people thought him innocent, he seemed to smile, and spoke as if somewhat surprised; he innocent! (says he) he was one of the worst of them all. Upon which I said to him, *Bastian*, you know all that was to have been done, and you must tell me all that you know of the matter; and he answered, that if I would come on board in the afternoon, he would relate to me all he knew concerning the plot; but was unwilling any of the negroes should hear him. According to his request returned on board in the afternoon, and taking him privately into the cabin, I put the following questions to him; which without scruple he answered as I have here penned down, or to the same effect.

Note, *That most of the conversation was in* French, Bastian *having been bred from a boy in* Mr. Fauconnier's *family, where they chiefly talked that language.*

*Question.* *Bastian*, seeing you are now to be transported, and that it hath pleased the governor to pardon you for a crime, wherein many of your associates have suffered death; you need not fear any dangerous consequences by giving me an impartial account of all you know concerning the negro plot; tell me all you know of that affair from the beginning to the end, without amusing me with any falshoods; and this you may depend upon, it will in a great measure obtain a pardon likewise from God, for your many and detestable sins.

*Answer.* Sir, you may depend upon it, that I shall declare to you nothing but what I am very certain of.

*Q.* Who was the first person that introduced you at *Hughson's*?

*A.* *Cæsar*, belonging to my master.

*Q.* The first time you were at *Hughson's*, what did you do there?

*A.* *Hughson* himself filled me a bumper of liquor, and after having drank it, I found myself quite intoxicated; but I remember he brought me a book, and bid me lay my hand on it, and bid me swear, and told me, if I refused it he

would kill me upon the ſpot; finding myſelf in ſo great a ſtreſs, to ſave my life I took the oath.

*Q.* What book was it that *Hughſon* made you ſwear upon, was it a bible?

*A.* I don't know what book it was, but by its make, I thought it looked like thoſe books you call bibles.

*Q.* What was it *Hughſon* obliged you to ſtand to, and after what manner did you ſwear?

*A.* By lightning and thunder, and by hell-flames, that I would ſet fire to whatever I came acroſs, and deſtroy as many whites as I could.

*Q.* What did you propoſe to do, if in caſe you had got the upper hand of the whites? did *Hughſon* make you any promiſe?

*A.* He promiſed to make us all free.

*Q.* Did there generally uſe to reſort many negroes at *Hughſon*'s?

*A.* Yes; for I have been there many a time when I have told fifteen, often twenty, and ſometimes thirty negroes.

*Q.* Did you uſe to eat and drink there, whenever you went to ſee *Hughſon*?

*A.* We always had a good ſupper, and never wanted for liquor.

*Q.* The night after the fort burnt, did you return to *Hughſon*'s?

*A.* No; but the night after that we were a jolly company, and had a fine ſupper prepared for us, and ſeem'd all of us to be well pleaſed with our late good ſucceſs.

*Q.* Do you know any whites that were concerned with you? Did you ever ſee any at *Hughſon*'s, at your meetings?

*A.* I have ſeen *Will Kane* there very often, and two or three ſoldiers whom I knew not, and another little man who was alſo a ſtranger to me.

*Q.* Was that little man young or old? of what make was he? and how did he employ his time among you?

*A.* He was far from being a tall man, but ſhort, very lean and a pale viſage; nor was he old; his place was at the upper end of the table; he often encouraged us to remain firm, like men, in our deſigns: He read and wrote a great deal.

*Q.* Do you know what he wrote?

*A.* I have ſeen him take the names of the negroes down, from time to time, by way of liſt.

*Q.* But how could *Hughſon*, who was but a poor man, ſupport ſo great an expence at his houſe? there were ſuppers every night for you all, candles, and many other things, the charge of which muſt have been very great: This goes beyond my comprehenſion; for you know the perſon who wrote ſo much, muſt have had lights to ſee; I ſay, I do not know how he did to ſupport all that charge!

*A.* The negroes brought what they could ſteal to him; the white man you ſpeak of was ſhort-ſighted, and never wrote or read without ſpectacles.

*Q.* They ſay he was a Romiſh prieſt; do you know any thing about that?

*A.* I don't know that he was a prieſt; but he uſed to exhort us like a miniſter, to continue ſtedfaſt in our intentions, and uſed to throw his hands about like a preacher; and he ſaid to us at the meeting at *Hughſon*'s the ſecond night after the fort was burnt, now God has proſpered us in the beginning, in burning the fort, and we need not fear; we muſt be reſolute, and proceed in the work, and no doubt God will proſper us in all; that the town was too much alarmed at preſent; but they muſt go on when the fine weather came: That they (the negroes) need not fear, he would forgive them their ſins if they kept true to their engagements, and by and by the *Spaniards* would come, and then they ſhould be free.

*Q.* Have you been baptized by that little man, they called a prieſt?

*A.* No; but I have been told by ſome negroes of our company, that the little man had baptized them.

*Q.* Is it true, you were to burn the *Engliſh* church?

*A.* Yes, we agreed to burn it laſt winter; but the man whom you call a prieſt oppoſed it, and adviſed us to ſtay till ſpring, when there would be a larger congregation.

*Q.* Your intentions then were to deſtroy all the whites while they were in the church? how were you to go about it? had you arms? and could you think otherwiſe but that many would have made their eſcape through the doors and windows? explain me theſe things as well as you can.

*A.* We had combuſtibles prepared by doctor *Harry*, made up into balls, which we were to ſet fire to, and throw them upon the roof of the church, which ſticking faſt would ſet fire to the ſhingles; after which, guarding the doors, we were to let none paſs, but deſtroy them all in the church with our fire-arms; for we had a great number of them at *Hughſon*'s.

*Q.* Where did you uſe to keep your arms at *Hughſon's*? for when the ſearchers were ſent there, they were not to be found.

*A.* I believe not; for the plot beginning to come to light, *Hughſon*, to ſecure himſelf, had them all thrown into the river; before that they were hid in a hole in the cellar.

*Baſtian* further declared, that he had not ſeen the perſon they called a prieſt, ſince he came into jail.

*James Favieres.*

19th *MARCH*, 1742.

*JAMES FAVIERES*, of *New-York*, merchant, made oath before the recorder, that the aforegoing relation contained the ſubſtance of the diſcourſe that paſſed between him and *Baſtian*, a negro, at the time and place above mentioned, according to the beſt of his remembrance.

## *DEPOSITION.*

ELIAS RICE, *ſaith*, 1. That in his paſſage with the ſeventeen negroes, *Sarah* (*Burt's*) acknowledged, that ſhe was concerned in the plot; never was at *Hughſon's*, but often at *Comfort's* amongſt the negroes a forwarding of the plot; and that ſhe had wilfully ſet fire to her miſtreſs's houſe ſeveral times.

2. That *Dick* (of *Teneyck*) was cooking the victuals for the ſhip in the paſſage, and the negroes ſuſpected he had a deſign of poiſoning them, and ſaw him buſy with yellow ſtuff in ſhells in a bag; which upon examination the negroes looked upon to be poiſon, which he had from doctor *Harry* (the negro.) Some of the negroes knew it to be poiſon, the ſame ſort they ſaw in *Guiney*.

3. *Jacob* (*H. Rutgers's*) and *Gill* (*Luſh's*) denied being at *Hughſon's*, but all the reſt owned it.

4. *Baſtian* owned he had been a head-man there, was there very often, and ſaw a little man there they called a prieſt; but never ſaw him after he came to jail.

5. *Tickle* ſaid, he had killed fowls there: *London* (*Kelly's*) had carried a quarter of mutton there.

6. *Windſor* (*Myers Cohen's*) had carried a turkey there; and all (except as aforeſaid) owned they had many a good feaſt, and good liquor there.

7. That *Baſtian* was always, during the paſſage, very free in owning his being engaged in the plot; and kept to the ſame ſtory; and ſaid, that he had often ſeen *Kane* at *Hughſon's*;

*son's*; that he was concerned in the plot, and knew more soldiers that used to come there with him, whose names he knew not.

8. That *Bastian* declared, that all the negroes that were executed, he had often seen at *Hughson's* entertainments, and that they were concerned in the plot.

*Sworn before the Recorder.* *Elias Rice.*

## DEPOSITION.

JOHN THURMAN of the city of *New-York*, baker, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth, that after *John Campbell* came to live at the house where *John Hughson* formerly lived, by the north river, he applied to the deponent, to put his children to school to him, informing him, that *John Ury*, who was a very good scholar, a latinist, was to be partner with him in keeping school; and that he the deponent would be sure to have his children well instructed; but the deponent having no good opinion either of *Campbell* or the other, gave no heed to his proposal. That soon after *Ury* came to live in that neighbourhood, as the deponent was informed, he took upon him to preach, and went about inviting the people to come and hear him; and that some of the deponent's family, as they afterwards told him, did go to hear him: That before *Ury* came to live in that neighbourhood, he knew his person by sight, having seen him several times. That the day *John Hughson*, his wife and *Peggy*, were executed, the deponent went upon the common to see the execution; and as he was returning from the gallows, he saw the said *Ury* near spring-garden, returning with the crowd to town, and walked along side of him, till he the deponent came to the market by *Begart's* the baker, when the deponent turned down towards his own house: That the deponent did at that time, and still does, think, that *Ury* was returning from the execution of the *Hughsons*.

*Sworn before the Recorder.* *John Thurman.*

*The information of* John Williams *of the city of* New-York, *Baker, touching the confession made to him by* Will (Ward's *Negro*) *executed for the conspiracy.*

1. That he (*Williams*) lived next door to Mr *Ward* the clock-maker, in Duke-street, and knew his negro man *Will*, who was executed as a confederate in the conspiracy; that he always had great suspicion of him, of being concerned in some mischief, having seen him at play in his master's back store-house, with many negroes at a time, of a sundays afternoon, playing at dice or pa-pa; and he had heard also

that this fellow had been concerned in the conspiracy at Antigua, about four or five years ago, which made him keep a very watchful eye over him.

2. That the day Mr. *Phillips*'s store-house was fired, and there was an alarm that the negroes were rising, he thereupon went home to get his arms in readiness, and to secure his house and family; and as he had conceived a great jealousy of *Ward*'s *Will*, he called at his house, and asked him, where this negro was, in order that he might have him in sight, and secure him; *Ward* answered he was back in the kitchen; and he calling him several times, *Will* at last answered out of the garret: He was ordered down, and *Williams* commanded him to keep upon his master's stoup, within his sight, and told him if he offered to stir from the door, he would shoot him; *Williams* having at the same time a gun in his hand; and there he accordingly remained till the hurry was over.

3. That some time afterwards, when the affairs of the plot broke out, and several persons had been executed for the same, and the proclamation was issued, promising pardon to such negroes as should come in by the time therein limited; the day before the expiration of that term, he charged *Will* home with being concerned, and advised, if it was so, that he would go and confess to save his life; but he stiffly denied knowing any thing of the matter, and said, think not, master, that I am such a fool; for the negroes here live as well as the white people at *Antigua*; I was concerned in a plot there, and had been hanged, only I turned King's evidence, and by that means got clear; I could not stay there on account of the other negroes, being apprehensive of their intending to kill me. And the next day he was impeached and taken into custody; soon after which, *Williams* went to talk to *Will* in jail, in order to try what he could get out of him; and asked, what he thought of it now; he answered, he thought he was in the wrong, that he had not taken his advice; but he thought they were all hanged or sent off, that knew he was concerned.

4. Then *Williams* asked him, what would become of him in case the plot had gone on, whether he had a greater antipathy against him than any other? he said, no; but he would have fared as the rest; he should have killed all that came in his way; for he had taken the oath of the priest; and there were a matter of twenty or thirty of them in all, that were sworn together by the priest, a little man, with a long gown on; but he did not know him, or ever had seen him before as

he

he knew of: *Williams* asked him, to what they were sworn; he answered, to burn and destroy when they could: *Williams* asked him, what would have become of his master? he answered, as he was sworn, he must have gone on to destroy what he could.

## 7th APRIL, 1742.

*Examination of* Ann Lyng, Jemima Ross, *her mother, and* Jemmy——*Taken by the Recorder and Deputy town-clerk.*

*Ann Lyng*, wife of *Herman Lyng* of the city of *New-York*, mariner, declared, That some short time after *John Ury* the priest was executed, she was one sunday morning boiling of chocolate, and *Jemmy* (a little boy of about six or seven years of age, who was boarded with her and her said mother) said to her, aunt *Nancy*, my mammy *Campbell* used to boil chocolate every morning, but used to give me suppan, and sometimes chocolate with it: Whereupon *Ann Lyng* asked him, who used to eat the chocolate? he answered, his daddy *Campbell* * and Mr. *Ury* used to eat the chocolate; then she asked him if he knew *Ury*? he answered, yes, very well; for he used to be by, when his daddy *Campbell* and *Hughson* used to play upon a board with little pieces of wood upon it; she then asked him if he knew *Hughson*? he said, very well; he was a tall man, with a thin face, used to wear a red coat, and a white cap; that he often came to his daddy *Campbell*'s, but always at night; that he knew *Ury* well, he used to teach him his book sometimes, and was a very little man, and lodg'd sometimes at his daddy *Campbell*'s.

Mrs. *Ross* declared, that upon her said daughter's telling her what *Jemmy* had said, as above, she asked him questions much to the above purpose; and the child declared over again to the same effect.

Then the boy was asked some questions by the recorder and town-clerk, tending to the same purpose, concerning his knowledge of *Hughson* and *Ury*; and he described them as above, and said, they used often to be together at his daddy *Campbell*'s, and his daddy *Campbell* and *Hughson* used to play at chequers, or draughts, [as they understood, according to the child's description; for he was put in mind of it, it seems, by *Ann Lyng*'s child having some beans given it, which it was playing with, and throwing about the floor,] and that *Ury* used to be by, and looking at them, and used to say, now *Campbell* you will win, and, now *Hughson* you will win.

The child also described the persons of *Hughson* and *Ury* very exactly, and said, *Ury* used to wear spectacles, and made punch for *Hughson* and *Campbell*, whilst they were playing.

* So the child used to call him; he boarded, and went to school to him before he came to Ann Lyng.

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# A LIST of White Persons taken into Custody on account of the Conspiracy. 1741.

| | Names of Persons. | Occupations. | Committed. | Arraigned. | Convicted. | Confessed. | Executed. | Discharged. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Marg. Kerry, alias Salingough | | 4 March | 22 & 24 June, for receiving stolen goods. | 4 June | 8 July | 12 June | Pardoned, Discharged by Proclamation for his province. |
| | John Hughson | Shoemaker and alehouse keeper | 18 April | | | | | |
| | Sarah Hughson, wife to John Hughson | | 18 April | | | | | |
| | Sarah Hughson, the daughter | | 6 May | | | | | |
| 5 | John Romme | Shoemaker and alehouse keeper | 18 May | | | | | 31 August |
| | Eliz. Romme, his wife | | 8 May | | | | | 31 August |
| | Peter Connolly | Soldier | 23 June | | | | | December, Transported to the West-Indies. |
| | John Ury | A priest | 24 June | 15 and 22 July | 29 July | 5 July | 29 August | |
| | Edward Kelly | Soldier | 25 June | | | | | |
| 10 | William Kine | Soldier | 4 July | | | | | 31 August |
| | John Coffin | Pedlar | 6 July | | | | | |
| | Edward Murphey | Soldier | 8 July | | | | | |
| | Andrew Ryan | Soldier | 9 July | | | | | |
| | David Johnson | Hat-maker | 9 July | | | | | Pardoned, on application of Ury to the governor. |
| 15 | John Corry | Dancing-master | 23 July | | | | | |
| | Thomas Hughson | Yeoman | | | | | | |
| | Nath. Walt. Will. Thomas Hughson's sons | Yeomen | 12 and 13 June | | | | | |
| 20 | Rich. Corker Fagan Plummer | mentioned in Kane's evidence in Ury's trial, and in his examinations, never found. | | | | | | |

## A LIST of NEGROES committed on Account of the Conspiracy.

| | Negroes. | Masters or Owners. | Committed. | Arraigned. | Convicted. | Confessed. | Burnt. | Hanged. | Transp. to | Discharged. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Antonio } | Pet. De Lancey | 6 April | 13 June | 17 June | | | | Sp. W. Ind. | |
| | Auguſtine } Span. | Macnoullen | 1 April | 13 June | 17 June | | | | | |
| | Antonio } | Sarah Maynard | 1 April | 13 June | 17 June | | | | Madeira | |
| | Albany | Mrs. Carpenter | 12 May | 8 June | 10 June | | 12 June | | | |
| 5 | Abra. a free negro | | 1 June | | | | | | | |
| | Adam | Joſ. Murray, Eſq; | 26 June | | | 27 June | | | Madeira | |
| | Brath | Peter Jay | 9 May | 25 June | | 25 June | | | Madeira | |
| | Baſtian, al. Tom Peal | Jacobus Vanack | 12 May | 8 June | 10 June | 12 June | | | Hiſpaniola | |
| | Ben | Capt. [illegible]hall | 9 June | 22 June | 13 June | | 16 June | | | |
| 10 | Bill, alias Will | Coenrad Ten Eyck | 12 June | 3 July | | 30 June | | | Madeira | |
| | Bridgewater | Abra. Van Horne | 28 June | 3 July | | 27 June | | | Hiſpaniola | |
| | Billy | Mrs. Elliſon | 25 June | 1 July | | | | | | |
| | Bravcboy | Mrs. Kierſtede | 27 June | 10 July | | 30 June | | | Madeira | |
| | Burlington | Joſeph Haines | 3 July | | | | | | | 4 23 July |
| 15 | Cæſar | Vanack | 1 March | 24 April | 1 May of a | | | 12 May | | |
| | Cuffee | Adol. Philipſe, Eſq; | 6 April | 28 May | 29 May | | 30 May | | | |
| | Cuba, a wench | Mrs. Conſt. Lynch | 4 April | | | | | | | 3 July |
| | Curacoa Dick | Cornelius Tiebout | 9 May | 8 June | 10 June | | 12 June | | | |
| | Cato | Alderman Moore | 9 May | 25 July | | 28 June | | | Madeira | |
| 20 | Cæſar | Alderman Pintard | 9 May | 3 July | | 28 June | | | | |
| | Cuffee | Lewis Gomez | 24 May | 6 June | 8 June | | 9 June | | | |
| | Cæſar | Benjamin Peck | 25 May | 6 June | 8 June | | 9 June | | | |
| | Cato | Joſeph Cowley | 25 May | 22 June | 23 June | | | 28 June | | |
| | Cook | Gerardus Comfort | 26 May | 6 June | 8 June | | 9 June | | C. Fran. | |
| 25 | Cambridge | Chriſt. Codwiſe | 30 May | 10 July | | 30 June | | | St. Thos. | |
| | Cæſar | Ferd. Hoofdfield | 30 May | 26 June | | 27 June | | | tenced | |
| | Cato | John Shumaur | 9 June | 26 June | 29 June | 27 June | | | Hiſpaniola | |
| | Cæſar | Corn. Koutrecht | 9 June | 3 July | | 2 July | | | | |
| | Cato, or Toby | John Provoſt | 9 June | 22 June | 23 June | | | 28 June | | |
| 30 | Cuffee | Mrs. Fortune | 22 June | 15 July | | 14 July | | | | |

A LIST of NEGROES committed on Account of the Conspiracy.

| Names | Masters Names | Committed | Confessed | Convicted | Burnt | Hanged | Transported to | Discharged |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cuffee | Mr. Hetherington | 28 June | 24 June | 24 June | | 30 June | Africa | 20 July |

## A LIST of NEGROES committed on Account of the Conspiracy.

| | Negroes. | Masters or Owners. | Committed | Arraigned. | Convicted. | Confessed. | Burnt. | Hanged. | Transf. to | Discharged. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Jack | Henry Beekstead | 9 May | 25 July | | 27 June | | | Hispaniola | |
| | Jeneca | Jacobus Vanck | 13 May | 7 July | | 2 July | | | Hispaniola | |
| | Jamaica | Thomas Ellison | 22 May | 6 June | 8 June | | | | Madeira | |
| 65 | Jack | Gerardus Comfort | 26 May | 6 June | 8 June | 8 June | | | C. Francois | |
| | Jeffery | Capt. John Browne | 15 June | 1 July | | 27 June | | | | |
| | Jacob | Hermanus Rutgers | 23 June | 26 June | | 24 June | | | Curaçoa | |
| | Jack | Joseph Murray, Esqr | 25 June | 1 July | | 26 June | | | Madeira | |
| | John | Widow Van Rantz | 27 June | | | | | | | 20 July |
| 70 | Jack | Jacob Abrahamse | 28 June | 1 July | | 1 July | | | | |
| | Jack | John Roerbeck | 28 June | | | | | | | 20 July |
| | Jack | Judah Hayes | 2 July | | | | | | | 6 July |
| | John | Rip Van Dam, Esqr | 6 July | | | | | | | 20 July |
| | Jupiter | Capt. Walton | 13 July | | | | | | Madeira | |
| 75 | Kit | Cornelius Van Horne | 29 June | | | | | | | 2 July |
| | London | Augustine Hicks | 30 May | | | | | | | 4 June |
| | London | Peter Marschalk | 9 June | 16 June | 19 June | 20 June | | | Madeira | |
| | London | Edward Kelly | 12 June | 19 June | | 2 July | | | Hispaniola | |
| | Love | David Provoost | 22 June | 25 June | | 27 June | | | Barbs | |
| 80 | London | Benjamin Wynoop | 22 June | 26 June | | 25 June | | | Hispaniola | |
| | London | Roger French | 22 June | 3 July | | 24 June | | | Madeira | |
| | Lewis | Adonijah Schuyler | 27 June | 1 July | | 1 July | | | Madeira | |
| | Miss | Robert Benson | 12 June | 3 July | | 3 July | | | | |
| | Mink | John Groesbeck | 12 June | 16 June | | 18 June | | | Montserrat | |
| 85 | Othello | James De Lancey, Esqr | 27 June | 10 July | 10 July | 30 June | | 28 July | | |
| | Prince | John Auboyneau | 2 March | 24 April | 1 May of a | | | 11 May | | |
| | Pluto, a Spaniard | Frederick Becker | 6 April | 13 June | 17 June | | | | Montserrat | |
| | Patrick | William English | 9 May | 25 June | | 27 June | | | Madeira | |
| | Prince | Anthony Duane | 1 June | 25 June | 26 June | | | 3 July | | |
| 90 | Pompey | Abraham Lefferts | 1 June | 3 July | | 8 June | | | Madeira | |
| | Phillis | James Delancey | 12 June | 3 July | | 19 June | | | St. Thos. etc. | |
| | Peire | Peter Deyester | 13 June | | | 29 June | | | and Gard. | |

robbery, but appears to have been a principal actor in the conspiracy.

## A LIST of NEGROES committed on Account of the Conspiracy.

| | Negroes. | Masters or Owners. | Committed. | Arraigned. | Convicted. | Confessed. | Burnt. | Hanged. | Transported. | Discharged. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Prince | Gabriel Cooke | 13 June | 25 July | | 13 June | | | | 20 July |
| | Pompey | Peter De Lancey | 20 June | 25 July | | 22 June | | | C. Francis | |
| 95 | Pompey | Jane Gilbert | 23 June | 26 June | | 27 June | | | Madeira | |
| | Pompey | Samuel Bayard | 23 June | 26 June | | 30 June | | | Madeira | |
| | Phaeton | Nicholas Bayard | 30 June | | | | | | | 15 July |
| | Prince | Cornelius Kortright | 1 July | 23 July | | | | | Hispaniola | |
| | Quack | John Walters | 6 Apr. to | 10 July | 10 July | | | 28 July | | |
| 100 | Quack | John Roosevelt | 12 May | 28 May | 29 May | at the Bar | 30 May | | | |
| | Quamino | Ebenezer Pemberton | 12 June | 29 June | | 22 June | | | Madeira | |
| | Quack | Jacob Goelet | 4 July | | | | | | | 25 July |
| | Quash | Hermanus Ratgers | 9 June | 22 June | 23 June | | 16 June | | Madeira | 6 July |
| | Quash | La Roux | 2 July to | 23 July | | | | | | |
| 105 | Robin | John Chambers | 13 April | 6 June | 8 June | | 9 June | | | 20 July |
| | Robin | Mrs. Bickley | 1 July | | | | | | | |
| | Sarah | Depeyster's | 4 April | | | | | | | |
| | Sarah | Thomas Niblet | 10 May | | | | | | | 22 July |
| | Sandy | Thomas Niblet | 14 May | | | | | | | |
| 110 | Sarah | Mrs. Burk | 25 May | 7 July | | 1 June | | | Hispaniola | |
| | Sam | George Rapelje | 30 May | | | | | | Hispaniola | 4 June |
| | Scipio | Mrs. Van Borsum | 9 June | 25 June | | 25 June | | | | |
| | Sterling | Capt. Lawrence | 22 June | 3 July | | 23 June | | | | |
| | Sam | Peter Leave | 22 June | 26 June | | 3 July | | | Hispaniola | |
| 115 | Scipio | Robert Bound | 22 June | 26 June | | 2 July | | | | |
| | Sam | Frederick Courtlandt | 20 June | 26 June | | 1 July | | | C. Francis | |
| | Scipio | Abraham Abrahams | 25 June | 26 June | | 27 June | | | Madeira | |
| | Scotland | Nathaniel Marston | 27 June | 7 July | | 29 June | | | | |
| | Suffex | Mrs. Beekly | 1 July | | | | | | Guinea | |
| 120 | Tickler, alias Will | Mrs. Carpenter | 30 May | | | 22 June | | | | 22 July |
| | Tom | William Van Zandt | 30 May | | | | | | Hispaniola | |
| | Tom | Benjamin Moore | 1 June | 28 June | | 28 June | | | | 28 July |
| | Tom | Capt. Rowe | 22 June | 3 July | | 2 July | | | Hispaniola | |

committed 9 May.

committed 22 July.

A LIST of NEGROES committed on Account of the Conspiracy.

A LIST of NEGROES committed on Account of the Conspiracy.

| | Negroes. | Masters or Owners | Committed | Arraigned. | Convicted. | Confessed | Hanged. | Hanged. | Transf. to | Discharged. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Tom | Van Zant | 29 June | | | | | | | |
| 125 | Toney | John Latham | 13 June | 25 June | 26 June | | | 3 July | | 2 July |
| | Toney | Mrs. Brazier | 22 June | 26 June | | 2 July | | | Surinam | |
| | Tom | Simeon Sommies | 23 June | 26 June | | 26 June | | | | |
| | Toby | Widow Bickstad | 25 June | 1 July | | 30 June | | | Ch. Francois | |
| | Tom | Hyer | 26 June | 1 July | 15 July | | | | Hispaniola | |
| 130 | Tom | Robert Livingston | 26 June | | | 27 June | | | Madeira | |
| | Titus | Capt. Phoenix | 27 June | 7 July | | 30 June | | | Madeira | |
| | Tony or Tonio | Coun. Courtlandt | 29 June | | | | | | | |
| | Tom | Peter Valette | 30 June | | | | | | | 23 July |
| | Toby | Hercules Wendover | 30 June | 20 July | 15 July | | | | | 23 July |
| 135 | Toby | Abraham Marschalk | 30 June | | | | | | | |
| | Tom | Brady | 15 February | | 1741 | | | 19 May 1741 | | |
| | Venture | Cornelius Tiebout | 28 June | 1 July | 15 July | | | 28 July 1741 | | |
| | Wan, or Juan | Capt. Sisly | 6 April | 23 June | 17 June | | | 15 August | | |
| | Will, a Spaniard | Abraham Filkins | 6 April | | | | | | | |
| 140 | Wan | Dr. Mitchell | 24 April | | | | | | Hispaniola | 30 July |
| | Will, alias Gill | Capt. Lash | 24 May | 25 June | | 27 June | | | Ch. Francois | 30 July |
| | Worcester | Hans Varyas | 30 May | 29 June | | 22 June | | | | |
| | Will | Anthony Ward | 20 June | 25 June | | 4 July | 4 July | | | |
| | Will | Jacobus Vanck | 20 June | 25 June | | the 4th | | | | |
| 145 | Windsor | Samuel Myers Cohen | 25 June | 1 July | | 30 June | | | | |
| | Warwick | Obadiah Hunt | 25 June | 1 July | | 1 July | | | Madeira | |
| | Will | John Tiebout | 4 July | | | | | | | |
| | Wan, Indian | Lowe | 12 June | 29 June | | 29 June | | | Cayenne | 23 July |
| | York | Benjamin Peck | 30 May | 25 June | | 27 June | | | Madeira | |
| 150 | York | Peter Messchelit | 9 June | 26 June | 19 June | 26 June | | 3 July in | | |
| | York | Thomas Thomafe | 20 June | 6 July | | 27 June | | chains with | Madeira | |
| | York | Charles Crooke | 22 June | 26 June | | 27 July | | John Hugh- | | |
| | York | Widow Van Rantz | 1 July | 23 July | | | | ton. | Cayenne | |
| | York | Cornelius Heydrick | 2 July | | | | | | | 23 July |

Negroes [illegible] who were not to be found
135 Mauritius [illegible] St. Gregory's
London [illegible] Abraham Van Horne's
Jan [illegible] Stephen Beyard's
Peter [illegible] St. Nicholas's
Paul [illegible] Assembly Jay's
the Jack [illegible] Governeur's
Jon [illegible] Holt's

LIST *of white Witneſſes, and References to their ſeveral Depoſitions, Examinations, and Confeſſions.*

*Mary Burtus.* Depoſitions, N° I. p. 26. N° II. p. 34. N° III. p. 53. N° IV. p. [illegible]. N° V. p. [illegible]. N° VI. p. 265. N° VII. p. 266. N° VIII. p. 266. Notes of her Exam. p. 277. N° IX. p. 280.

*Arthur Price.* Dep. N° I. p. 34. N° II. p. 37. N° III. p. 51. N° IV. p. 59.

*Abigail Earle,* *Lydia Garret,* Depoſitions, p. 48, 49.

*Sarah Hagerſon.* 1ſt Exam. p. 59. 2d Exam. p. 264. Exam. N° II. p. 299.

*Stephen Ewan.* Depoſition, p. 184.

*Judy Pelham.* Depoſition, p. 204.

*William Kane.* 1ſt Exam. p. 253. Dep. and Exam. N° II. p. 256. N° III. p. 265. N° IV. p. 266. Notes of his Exam. p. 278. Dep. N° V. p. 280. N° VI. p. 229.

*Elias Dubuiſſ's* Depoſition, p. 303. concerning *Ury* the prieſt.

*Joſeph Webb's* Depoſition, p. 304. concerning *Ury* the prieſt.

LIST *of Negro Witneſſes, and References to their Confeſſions.*

*Sawney,* alias *Sandy,* Examination, N° I. p. 64. N° II. p. 69. N° III. p. 96.

*Fortune* (Wilkins's) Exa. N° I. p. 66. N° II. p. 67. N° III. p. 98.

*Sarah* (Burk's) Exam. N° I. p. 70. N°. II. p. 99. N° III. p. 117.

*Jack* (Comfort's) Exam. N° I. p. 126. N° II. p. 132.

*Baſtian,* his confeſſion in Court, p. 138. Exam. N° I. p. 138. N° II. p. 276.

*Will,* alias *Ticklepitcher,* Exam. N° I. p. 141. N° II. p. 150.

*Pompey,* (Leffert's) Examination, p. 132.

*Jack* (Sleydall's) Examination, p. 143.

*Cæſar,* (Alderman Pintard's) Examination, p. [illegible].

*Cato,* (Col. Moore's) Examination, p. [illegible].

*Braſs,* Examination, p. 195.

*Tom* (Livingſton's) Examination, p. 226.

*Dick* (Ten Eyck's) Examination, p. 234.

*Jack,* *Adam,* (Murray's) Examination, N° I. p. 200. Examination, N° I. p. 204.

*Tom* (B. Moore's) Examination, p. 167.

*Braveboy,* Examination, p. 230.

*Pompey* (Peter De Lancey's) Examination, p. 177.

*Prince,* (Gabriel Crooke's) Examination, p. 250.

FINIS.